

THE DOCTRINE OF MAN

IN

THE QUR'AN

A Thesis presented to  
The Faculty of Divinity  
University of Edinburgh

In Partial Fulfilment  
of the Requirements  
for the Degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy

by

James G. S. S. Thomson

1953



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 6.

God's Demand

- a) Inān
- c) Tawbah
- e) Taqwa

- b) Inlām
- d) Ittīzāl
- f) Shayr

Chapter 7.

Man's Response to God's Demands:

ad-Dīn.

Chapter 1. The Creation of Man.

Chapter 2. Man and Divine Providence in the Natural Order.

Chapter 3. The Media of Man's Response:

(a) To the World

(b) To God

The Spirit (rūh) of Man

The Heart (qalb, sadr, fū'ād) of Man

The Self (nafs) in Man

Chapter 4. Man's Moral Problem: Sin as Error.

Its Nature.

- 1) Dalāl
- iii) Dhanb
- v) Fujūr
- vii) Sa'ā
- ix) M'sīyah

- ii) Khatī'ah
- iv) Ithm
- vi) Fahshā
- viii) Jaram
- x) 'adāwah

Chapter 5. Man's Moral Problem: Sin as Error.

Its Manifestation.

- a) Man as Mushrik
- b) Man as Mukadhdhib
- c) Man as Kāfir



THE CREATION OF MAN

Chapter 6. God's Demands upon Man.

- |    |               |    |                |
|----|---------------|----|----------------|
| a) | <u>Imān</u>   | b) | <u>Islām</u>   |
| c) | <u>Tawbah</u> | d) | <u>Ittikāl</u> |
| e) | <u>Tagwā</u>  | f) | <u>Khawf</u>   |

Chapter 7. Man's Response to God's Demands: ad-Dīn.

- |      |                 |     |               |
|------|-----------------|-----|---------------|
| i)   | <u>Shahādah</u> | ii) | <u>Sawm</u>   |
| iii) | <u>Hajj</u>     | iv) | <u>Zakāt</u>  |
| v)   | <u>Salāt</u>    | vi) | <u>Sunnah</u> |

Chapter 8. Man and the Last Things.

- |      |                                 |     |                        |
|------|---------------------------------|-----|------------------------|
| i)   | Death                           | ii) | The Intermediate State |
| iii) | Resurrection                    | iv) | Judgment               |
| v)   | The Fate of the <u>Dāllūn</u>   |     |                        |
| vi)  | The Fate of the <u>Muhtadūn</u> |     |                        |

The first major truth that emerges from a study of the Qur'anic theory of the creation of man is that it is due entirely to an act of God, 30.53. This is a sphere where Allah acts alone. Here there is neither place nor necessity for secondary causes. God

## CHAPTER ONE

### THE CREATION OF MAN

The title The Qur'anic Doctrine of Man requires a brief word of comment. A more accurate title would have been The Anthropology of the Qur'ān because the first inevitably suggests an accurate and complete statement of belief regarding the nature, life and destiny of man. In fact, the composition of the Qur'ān is such that a carefully constructed statement of belief regarding man, highly desirable though it may be, would be difficult, if not impossible, to achieve. No formal statement of belief on the subject of man is to be found in the Qur'ān, hence the more general title The Anthropology of the Qur'ān would have been a more accurate description of what follows. But it is customary to refer to the results gained from collecting and interpreting the evidence provided by the Qur'ān concerning man as the Qur'anic doctrine of man, and that title, in spite of its inaccuracy, is here retained.

The first major truth that emerges from a study of the Qur'anic theory of the creation of man is that it is due entirely to an act of God, 30.53.<sup>1</sup> This is a sphere where Allah acts alone. Here there is neither place nor necessity for secondary causes. of God

---

1. 2.19, 15.26, 35.12, 37.11, 50.15, 76.2, passim.

1. 2.

is the primary and self-sufficient cause of man's creation. Where the divine name occurs in passages that refer to God's creative activity in the origin of man the Qur'ān uses two forms, the well known name Allah 35.12, 30.53, and rabb 2.19, 15.28; but the first person plural form of the pronoun is also frequently employed 37.11, 76.2, 50.15, etc. But at no point is it suggested that secondary causes play any part in the creation of man.

Even the semen itself is said to be the result of a creative act of God 56.58f. It is true that the word for the semen (nutfah) does not occur in this short passage but the phrase, mā tumnūn, what ye emit, leaves one in no doubt what is meant. The words of 75.37 seem to make the meaning of 56.58f. perfectly clear, "Was he not a drop of semen (nutfah) emitted (yumnā) in desire?" And not only are the semen and conception due to an act of God. We shall see later that the development of the foetus in the uterus is also under His direct control.

Now this divine act by which the foetus is originated and evolved is everywhere said to be a creative act. The word most commonly used to describe this constantly recurring act of creation is khalaq, exactly the same term which is used to describe the origination of the heavens and the earth. It will be found necessary to notice the original meanings of the words which the Qur'ān uses concerning the creation of man because Judaeo-Christian monotheism was a comparative novelty in Arabia and, therefore, the technical terms of Islām must have been developed from more primitive uses of words. We shall see how these extremely interesting changes in the meanings of certain words were affected, and the reasons for these changes. Probably the meanings of technical theological terms were not crystallized until after the Qur'ān had been formed.

The root khalag is a case in point. Its use in connection with the creation of man is particularly interesting because originally it meant to measure, determine the measure of a thing, or to make a thing according to the measure of another object. But when khalag refers to an act of God this sense of bringing in- to existence after the similitude of anything pre-existing is quite absent. As Lane points out, khalag in this connection is best understood to mean bringing something into existence from a state of non-existence, creatio ex nihilo, especially where the creation of man is in view. This becomes significant, of course, when the concept of the creation of man in the image of God is under discussion. We shall have to refer to this matter again but at this early stage it may be pointed out that Islamic theology has rejected this concept completely. Perhaps this is why the Arabic authorities quoted by Lane insist that khalag means creatio ex nihilo when one is speaking of a creative act of God although the original meaning of the root implied the pre-existence of an object according to the measure of which the second object was fashioned. The remark in 40.59 that the creation of the heavens and the earth is "greater than the creation of the people" may be significant here because the creation of the former was indisputably creatio ex nihilo whereas there were grounds for believing that such<sup>v</sup> as not the case concerning the latter. However that may be we wish to point out that in both instances the root khalag is used and by employing this word with reference to the birth of man the Qur'ān makes it clear that this oft recurring event is always a creative act of God.

But there are several other words used in this connection. E.g. the term 'anshā' to create is used of the birth of man in several



passages, and in most cases it is clear that a creative act of God is to be understood. It is used of the bones 36.78f., of the people to whom the Qur'ān spoke 67.23, 53.33, of the new born babe 23.14, and its faculties 23.80, and of birth in general terms 56.61f. The root 'anshā' has reference specially to the creation of something that is being produced for the first time. Dr. Bell has endeavoured to bring out this meaning by translating it to originate. It means that Allah brought man into existence he not having been before.

The word bada', to create, is used of the creation of man in general 32.6, 21.104. Strictly speaking it means to begin or initiate a thing, and therefore 32.6 should read, "And He began the creation of man....." Used with reference to man's creation bada' would mean the same as 'anshā', to originate, bring into being that which had not existed before.

The Qur'ān also presses the word rakkab into service in this connection though it is used of the shape of the foetus 82.8. The simple root means to be piled up, overlying, so that rakkab would really signify putting one part upon another, hence to compose a thing, put it together and so constitute it. Since rakkab seems to be used with reference to the developing foetus in 82.8 we can appreciate the appositeness with which it occurs in this verse. But whatever word the Qur'ān happened to use it is obvious that it wished to be understood that the birth of a child was the outcome of a creative act of God; as real an act of creation as was the creation of the heavens and the earth.

And this creative act is said to be hayyn (easy) for Allah 19.10, something which He does in a nonchalant fashion so facile

and light a matter is its performance. This verse, 19.10, refers to the birth of John the Baptist but since every birth is the result of a divine creative act it follows that the creation of every man must be hayyn for Allah. The same phrase occurs in 19.20 where the angel, sent to announce Jesus' birth, in answer to Mary's surprised query, "How can I have a boy seeing that no man has touched me, nor have I been a harlot?" replies, "Thus saith the Lord, 'It (the birth of Jesus) is easy for Me.'" And this in spite of the fact that the conception of Jesus was to take place without human intervention, as was also the case concerning John (19.10).

It has already been pointed out that khalaq is the word most commonly used with reference to the creation of man, and that in this connection the concept of creatio ex nihilo is to be understood. It is surprising, therefore, to find the Qur'ān saying that in fact Allah uses different materials to create man, materials that are bewildering in their number, nature and complexity.

In the first place the Qur'ān operates with the terms 'ard and turāb. The first word occurs twice 11.64, 53.33. The first of these verses occurs in a passage where the Qur'ān reports the words of the prophet Ṣāliḥ addressed to Thamūd, the second is spoken to Muḥammed's own generation. In both cases the verb used is 'anshā' to produce, cause to spring from, as well as to create. If we are to understand 'anshā' to mean to produce then perhaps we are to interpret 'ard as meaning the place from which man was produced not the material from which he was created. This is strengthened by the use of the preposition min. If Adam had been the object of this creative activity of God in 11.64, 53.33 then no ambiguity would have occurred, but since the verses refer to 'vir' and not to 'homo', and because of the conception held by the Qur'ān of the



birth of a man (vir) in contradistinction to the creation of Man (homo, Adam) we should perhaps think of 'ard as the locus in which men are created.

There is no ambiguity in connection with the word turāb 3.52, 22.5, 30.19, 35.12. In the first verse the Qur'ān refers to Adam while in the other three it has the men of its own time in view, and in each case the verb is khalag with the preposition min. Clearly the Qur'ān conceived that Man (homo) and a man (vir) were created by God from dust. This conception was a perfectly natural one. Since the flesh and bones crumbled to dust after death the Qur'ān was bound to infer that turāb was a constituent element in man and was, therefore, one of the materials used by the divine Creator in creating him. Curiously enough one of the words for cemetery or burial-place comes from the same root as turāb. Turbah means tomb or grave-yard. Perhaps there is a significant connection here between turāb, that out of which man is created, and turbah, the place in which he is buried and so returns to that from which he came.

In addition to 'ard and turāb, the Qur'ān naturally took cognizance of the fact that the semen was also an element that the divine Fashioner used in the creation of man though there is nothing to suggest that the Qur'ān knew that it was because of the union of the sperm of the male with the germ-cell of the female that conception took place. It is to be noticed however that in 76.1,2 the adjective 'amshāj (mixed) is used with reference to the nutfah (semen). Palmer, (Rodwell, Sale and Kasimirski) translates "a mingled clot" (Bell has "a mixture"), but Savary and the three translators in brackets above understand 'amshāj in the sense of "from the union of the sexes".

In this regard the Qur'ān considers that only the sperm bearing

fluid of the male was significant. We shall have occasion later to refer to the matrilineal and patrilineal systems by which descents were traced but notice should be taken now of the fact that in pre-Islamic times both principles were widely used, but since Muhammed's time the Arabs have been interested in descent only in the male line. Perhaps this ought to be connected with an old view that it was the female who contributed only the substance, the foetus as such, while the male contributed the formative principle. It seems that in pre-Islamic times matrilineal kinship was prominent in Medinah as contrasted with Mecca where the patrilineal system was favoured.

When referring to the semen the Qur'ān makes use of several terms. The word which might be called the technical term is nutfah, though that word is commonly used of any liquid that flows, oozes out or is <sup>u</sup>ended. In several places it is inferred that it was from the nutfah itself that man was created 76.1,2, 36.77, 16.4, 80.17f., but the Qur'ān is not completely consistent on this point. In 56.58f. it is said that the nutfah is itself the result of a creative act of God. There the Qur'ān, with reference to "what ye emit" (i.e. the nutfah) asks, "Do ye create it or are We (Allah) the creators?" A question which expects the answer, "God creates it." And there is no ambiguity with regard to creation because the Qur'ān employs the root khalaq.

Again, in 18.35, 40.69, 35.12, 22.5 it is said that the creative activity of God produces man first from turāb and then from nutfah, while in 23.12 it is first "an extract of clay" (sulālah min tīn) that the divine Fashioner takes up, and then the nutfah, in order to create man. However, perhaps both terms are meant to be taken as synonyms here. In a note on 23.12 Dr. Bell suggests that sulālah "refers to the semen" and the words min tīn (of clay) were

added later "to give a new rhyme". It should be remembered too that in addition to the 'technical' term nutfah the Qur'ān employs one or two words that might be legitimately referred to as 'termes vulgaires' to describe the nutfah, and perhaps 23.12 may be an instance where the 'terme vulgaire' is used alongside the 'technical' word nutfah.

E.g., the Qur'an calls the semen tīn (clay) 38.71,77, 7.11, 17.63, 32.6, 6.2; tīn lāzib (clay that adheres firmly) 37.11; sulālah min tīn (an extract of clay or fine clay) 23.12, 32.6f.; salsāl (clay) 55.13, 15.26,28,33; hamā' masnūn (mud ground down) 15.26,28,33; mā' mahīn (despicable water) 77.20. The significance of these 'termes vulgaires' is plain enough, and they seem to imply a nuance of repugnance, as if Muḥammed found it repulsive even to refer to the semen or sperm.

It may not be without significance that the Qur'ān quite deliberately uses the terms tīn, salsāl, or hamā' meaning clay or its equivalents because it conceived that in some sense the initial creative act of Allah which produced the nutfah (or tīn etc.) was followed by a moulding or fashioning process which from the created nutfah produced the embryo and finally the developed foetus. The Qur'ān, it should be noticed, keeps these two acts, the creative and the formative, quite distinct. E.g. in 18.35 the initial act of creation (khalāq) is followed by a moulding process (sawwā) the object of which is turāb. So in 15.28f., but there the object is salsāl. In 75.38 the object is 'alaqah (congealed blood). In 91.7 the verb sawwā is used alone and the object is the nafs. In 82.7 the creative act is followed by the fashioning process (sawwā) which results in a man being given perfect symmetry ('adal).

The word sawwā is certainly difficult but when it is considered in close connection with the developing foetus its meaning to make



symmetrical is easier to understand. It means to take the component parts of a thing and adapt each to each and so make the object congruous and consistent in all its parts; adapt, i.e., the object to the exigencies or requirements of its case. In 32.8 "He formed (sawwā) him" means He made him symmetrical by the suitable formation of his members. So 15.29, 38.72, I made his creation symmetrical, I made him complete. In 82.2 the words, "Who hath created thee and formed (sawwā) thee....." are thought to mean, "who created thee and made thy creation to be adapted to the requirements of the case?" In 91.7 the phrase wamā sawwāhā may be understood in two senses. The particle mā may be taken to mean 'Him who' (i.e. Allah), or 'that which' made it to be adapted to its exigencies. In the latter instance it would mean, made suitable to the performance of the functions of the nafs or self.

In several places the root ja'al is used in connection with the creation of man. E.g. in 23.12f. the creative act is followed by a formative process (ja'al). In 3.4 the act of creation is not mentioned but only the formative or shaping process (sawwar). In 82.8 a noun from this root (sūrah meaning form) is used in conjunction with rakkab, to compose or constitute anything. In 7.10 creation is followed by the act of forming (sawwar), and in 55.13 we read, "And He created men of clay like the potters (fakhkhār)."  
Quite clearly the Qur'ān understood that the initial act of creation by which Allah produced the nutfah or the tīn, etc., was followed by the completely distinct yet equally divine act of forming or moulding the created 'clay' just as the human potter moulds and fashions the vessel of clay.

This inevitably introduces the idea of development, and that the Qur'ān did conceive of stages in this formative activity of God upon the salsāl is perfectly clear, though complete consistency is

lacking here and there. In 71.13 we read, "And He has created you in stages ('atwār)"; i.e. by various steps or stages or changes. The word tawr really means time, but it is also used to express what we mean by state, condition or form; so that by its use of 'atwār in 71.13 the Qur'ān means to say that Allah followed the initial creative act by a formative process that determined the growth of the embryo. The semen was changed to a clot of blood, then flesh, then bone, etc.

The idea of the evolution of the embryo is also clearly expressed in 39.8 where occurs the phrase khalq min ba'd khalq (creation after creation, from one fashion or form to another). Obviously it has reference to the stages of development through which the embryo passes in the womb, and these we must now endeavour to trace as they are set out by the Qur'ān. There are several lists of stages in the development of the foetus in the uterus supplied by the Qur'ān. It will be found that some are more complete than others, and that not all follow the same line of development. They are given here in the chronological order in which they occur in Rodwell and are numbered for the sake of convenience.

(1) 75.37f.	(5) 38.71f.	(9) 40.69.	(13) 22.5.
(2) 53.46f.	(6) 23.12-14.	(10) 39.8.	
(3) 76.1f.	(7) 18.35.	(11) 35.12.	
(4) 15.29f.	(8) 32.6-8.	(12) 3.52.	

An examination based on the chronological arrangement of the surahs reveals no significant facts at all because the earliest list is as long as the latest, and both may be said to be equally 'scientific'. The lists which intervene do not indicate any gradation or development at all, and in both the shorter and longer lists the various stages are mixed up in haphazard fashion.

Seven of the lists of stages in the evolution of the embryo, 1-6

1. 11.

and 8, begin with nutfah or "clay", i.e. the semen, though no.6 seems to imply a distinction between the tīn with which the foetus is said to originate and the nutfah. Five of the lists, nos.7,9, 11-13, begin with turāb and imply a distinction between the turāb (which in these lists marks the origination of the foetus) and the nutfah which in all except no.12 stands second in the line of development after turāb. One, no.10, begins with the nafs. None, it will be noticed, starts from 'ard.

The longer of the lists, nos.6,9 and 13, place the nutfah first or second which in every case is followed immediately by 'alaqah (blood that has congealed, clotted or coagulated). In the shorter lists 'alaqah is mentioned in only one, no.1, but obviously these lists of stages in the development of the foetus are so incomplete that that is of no significance. But where it does occur 'alaqah stands immediately after nutfah.

In nos.6 and 13 the 'alaqah is developed into mudghah (a piece of flesh). In no.9 the sequence stops with the 'alaqah. In no.13 it is said that the mudghah may be "formed or unformed". At this point no.6 continues the sequence of development by saying that the mudghah is now created (khalaq) into 'izām (bone). In no.13 the mudghah is said to be made to remain in the womb until the time appointed for birth comes round, whereas in no.6 the reference to the womb (garār makīn, a sure or safe abode) occurs after the nutfah has been deposited. No.6 goes on to relate that the 'alaqah which became mudghah has now become 'izām (bone) and is thereafter clothed with flesh, and is then said to be made to become another creation by an act of God. This probably means that the stages of development within the embryo are now complete and the birth ("the creation" in Qur'anic terminology) of the child takes place.



Indeed in 3.52 the phrase kun fayakūn is used with reference to the birth of Jesus (or Adam, a certain ambiguity exists) which suggests that the time of the birth of a child is decreed by God, and that the actual bringing forth of the child is the result of the fiat of God. In no.13 between the formation of the formed or unformed mudghah and the birth of the child, which for the Qur'ān was the result of an act of Allah (nukhrīj, We, Allah, bring forth), it is said simply that a period of time, the length of which has been appointed (by God) must elapse. It is possible that the phenomena of premature and retarded births caused the Qur'ān to believe that the time which elapses between conception and birth was also in God's hands and was fixed by divine decree, although it must be remembered that Muslims believe in pregnancies of up to two or even four years.

The general picture, then, which emerges of the stages through which the developing foetus passes is: turāb (or tīn), nutfah, alaghah, mudghah, izām, lahm and birth. The differences which occur in the various lists of stages of development are due, not to any disturbance of sequence, but to the omission of details.

It is interesting to recall that the Old Testament also endeavours to trace the stages through which the evolving embryo passes during the pre-natal period. The writer of Ecclesiastes confesses to a sense of mystery regarding "how the bones (grow) in the womb of her that is with child" 11.5; but there are two passages which may be said to trace the evolution of the human embryo.

The more 'scientific' of the two lists is in Job 10.10f. where we read, "Didst Thou not pour me out like milk and curdle me like cheese? Thou didst clothe me with skin and flesh and knit me together with bones and sinews" (Rev. Standard Ver.). Doubtless the

1. 13.

"milk" means the semen which God "poured" into the womb. Thereafter it was transformed into the more substantial substance of the shapeless embryo resembling the change that milk undergoes when it "curdles" and becomes cheese. It was this substance that was then conceived to be clothed "with skin and flesh", and then within were formed the bones and sinews. Doubtless it was the presence of the bones within the flesh that provoked the sense of wonder which is expressed in Eccles. 11.5.

This reference to the shapeless embryo reminds us of Wisdom 7.2 where the writer says, "in the womb of a mother was I moulded into flesh.....being compacted in blood of the seed of man....."

Pirqè Abhōth also has a reference to the semen that reminds us of Job 10.10. To the question, "Whence comest thou?" the writer answers, "From a fetid drop" 3.1. It will be evident that all this terminology is very strongly reminiscent of the Qur'ān's manner of expressing itself on this subject, as is also the great conviction that the evolution of the human embryo is the result of the creative activity of God which we have underlined.

These characteristics are also prominent in Ps.139.13,15f. where the same subject is alluded to: "For Thou didst form my inward parts (lit. "my kidneys"), Thou didst knit me together in my mother's womb. My frame was not hidden from Thee when I was made in secret, intricately wrought in the depths of the earth. Thy eyes beheld my unformed substance." The phrase "the depths of the earth" is rather strange but it may be understood to be in the nature of a retrospective reference to the first formation of the human body out of the dust of the earth. Perhaps the thought is that in the formation of each man the manner in which the first man was made is repeated. The earth was, so to speak, the womb out of which Adam came, and the womb is the earth out of which

Adam's children come. And He made for you hearing, seeing and hearts

It will have been observed that in the longer lists which we have been considering in the Qur'ān there is no reference to the nafs. In addition they have nothing to say concerning the human faculties. For these we must turn to the shorter lists which also set forth some of the stages of development through which the embryo passes.

No.10 is completely silent concerning the turāb or nutfah or any other of the substances cited in the majority of other passages. We read there instead that the men whom the Qur'ān is addressing were created (khalaq) min nafs wāḥidah, from one soul. From this nafs another (lit. zawjahā, its mate) was appointed (ja'al). But perhaps the Qur'ān had in view the creation of the first man (Adam) and his wife since it goes on to say, "He (God) creates (yakhlūq) you in the wombs (lit. buṭūn, bellies) of your mothers"; which certainly implies a creation not from the nafs but from some substance. That this is so becomes plainer from what follows, ".....creation after creation in triple darkness" which, say the Commentators, means, the belly, the womb and the placenta.

The other passages with which we are concerned, nos.4,5,8, do however introduce a more spiritual element into man's nature, though they all underline the material factors in his creation in common with other passages. In each of the above lists it is said that after the embryo has been completed (sawwā) Allah then breathes (nafakh) into it His rūh, thereby implying that that which man breathes and by which he is preserved in life is a rūh from Allah. 32.8 seems to imply that the rūh, the life principle, is also that which brings man's faculties into operation because immediately following upon the divine inbreathing in-



to man the phrase, "And He made for you hearing, seeing and hearts" occurs. The word translated "hearts" is 'afidah. We shall see in chapter three that fū'ād also means the seat of the understanding, so that man's reason, as well as the faculties of hearing and seeing, is the result of God's inbreathing of His spirit into man at birth.

This inbreathing by God of His rūh into the supposedly inanimate body of the new born babe reminds us of the large place given to the rūh in the accounts of the birth of Jesus son of Mary. It would appear that in his case the spirit acted upon him before his birth not, as in the experience of other men, upon the body after birth. Indeed in this instance the "casting" of the rūh into Mary was the direct cause of conception. In 4.169 the verb to cast is 'alqā and the preposition is 'ilā towards or upon Mary. In its account of the birth of Jesus the Qur'ān is completely silent regarding the substances from which other men are said to be created (even 'ard and turāb are not mentioned) which makes it even more certain that the Qur'ān considered that the origins of Jesus were traceable to the divine inbreathing (though the verb nafakh is not actually used) of the rūh from God. And we recall again the phrase kun fayakūn in connection with the birth of Jesus, which reminds us of the 'formula' liyakun.....fakān (let there be.....and there was) in Gen.1. (Cf. also Heb.XI.3.). This, taken in conjunction with the casting of the spirit into Mary, may give some significance to the remark that along with a rūh from Allah there was also cast into Mary His word (kalimatuhu) 4.169.

In 5.109 the Qur'ān quotes some words addressed to Jesus son of Mary by Allah, "Remember My ni'mah (favour) to thee." The words that follow explain that this ni'mah was: "When I strengthened thee ('ayyadttuk) with the holy spirit." But there is no

mention here of God breathing His rūh into Jesus as He is conceived to do in the experience of other men. We are left to assume that unlike the 'still' birth of other men Jesus was already possessed of the rūh and that in an especial degree. And we are given to understand that the spirit was with him in this extraordinary measure continuously through life and was a characteristic feature of his life 2.81,254. He was able by the rūh to address men while still a baby in the cradle 5.109, and was taught by God (may we not assume the agency of the rūh here?) the Book, Wisdom, the torah and the 'injīl 5.110.

But not only did Jesus son of Mary receive the rūh, and not only was he acted upon by the rūh in this passive manner. He was able to give life to inanimate objects by breathing the rūh into them, not as a passive agent of the rūh but actively, though the Qur'ān reminds us that this was done only by the permission ('idhn) of Allah. An example of this activity is cited in 5.110 (cf. also 3.43) where we are told that Jesus made a clay bird into which he breathed and it became alive. One cannot but notice the close parallel here between God's inbreathing His rūh into the "clay" embryo at birth and Jesus' breathing into the clay bird and both becoming thereafter animated by the same life principle. There follows immediately after (in 5.110, 3.43) a catalogue of Jesus' miracles of healing and raising the dead, and one is perhaps not assuming too much if one supposes that this miraculous ministry was performed through the same rūh by which he caused the clay bird to fly. To point out that these tales occur in the Gospel of the Infancy and the Gospel of Thomas does not alter the fact that they may be taken as part of the authentic Qur'anic doctrine of Jesus and may, therefore, be used for matters of comparison in a discussion of the Qur'anic doctrine of man.

The phrase already noticed, kun fayakūn 3.52, which has reference to Adam's (or Jesus') creation (khalaq) may be taken as expressing implicitly what is expressed explicitly in the passages we have just been considering. It may be taken to mean that not only man's existence but also his vital existence, his aliveness, his vital functions, are the result of Allah's breathing (nafakh) His rūh into man whom He has created and fashioned and brought forth from the womb. The phrase is, of course, used quite explicitly by the angel 3.42 who announced to Mary the conception and birth of Jesus.

The conclusion to which one is led at this early stage after a review of the above passages is that man is 'composed' of rūh (or nafs) and lahm (or jasad) though the latter term, as may have been noticed, is not referred to in any of the verses to which reference has been made. We shall see later (III. b. 4.) that the Qur'ān does not teach that man is a tripartite being consisting of body, soul and spirit; the Qur'ān operates with two elements only, the spiritual and the physical; and where it deals with the creation of man it is the physical aspect with which it is pre-occupied and may be said to be its predominating interest as far as man's origin and birth are concerned.

Man, therefore, is bashar, a mortal 15.28, 33, 38.71, 30.19. In these passages it is implied that that is the great point of difference between men and angels. The references to the creation and birth of man barely mention the nafs, and while the rūh occupies a larger place it is referred to only in general terms. The 'functions' and nature of the nafs and rūh are never discussed in any of the passages which refer specifically to man's nature and composition although we have noticed that in one verse, 32.8 it is suggested that it is the rūh that brings into operation



man's various faculties. But, of course, the spiritual significance of the nafs and rūh will become clearer when we discuss the religious experience of man later.

The Qur'ān seems to teach that two matters of importance are decided by Allah when a child is born. First, in 6.2 we are told that the length of the years of his life is decided (qadā). The word for "age" here is 'ajal. It means the term or period assigned to a thing. E.g. in 2.31 it is the period that divorced women must wait before they may remarry. But 'ajal also means the term or period of death, the whole of life and its end, the duration of a man's life assigned to him by God 6.128. In 6.2 it is to be understood to mean the term of death. So that whenever a man begins to be the day of his death is fixed by changeless decree. In conjunction with the fixing of the day of death is to be taken the determining of another event or term, an 'ajal musammā, lit. a named, an aforesaid, a determined term; and since the first 'ajal in 6.2 refers to the day of death the second fixed term is taken to mean the day of a man's resurrection from the dead. Lane points out that some authorities interpret the repetition of 'ajal to mean accidental and natural death. The 'ajal of one man is by accidental means while a full 'ajal is granted to another and so he dies a natural death. Both ajal are found in 16.72, 22.5. The latter reads, "Some of you die but some of you are reduced to a most abject state of life....." I.e., they reached very advanced old age.

The other important matter concerning the new born child which is determined by Allah is his fate 80.19. The phrase khalagahu faqaddarahu is rendered by Palmer, "He created him and fated him." It has to be pointed out, however, that Sale and Rodwell render qaddarahu by "He fashioned him." They do so probably because

1. 19.

the word sabīl (way) follows immediately and this they assume refers to the passage from the womb which v.20 says, "He (God) makes easy for him (man)." But sabīl may also mean the pathway of man through life, in which case qaddar would signify to decree or determine. Dr. Bell has rendered the phrase, "He created him, and assigned his power."

Evidently the meaning of qaddar in 80.19 is disputed. Lane does not give to this word the sense of fashioning, and in the other instances where the word occurs in the Qur'ān it would be difficult to give it this meaning. The commonest meaning seems to be to determine, appoint, destine, etc. E.g. in 41.9 Allah decreed to the earth its food. In 56.60 He decrees death among men. It was decreed by Allah that Lot's wife should stay behind in Sodom 15.60, 27.58. Allah has determined for the moon its stations 10.5, 36.39, while He also disposeth of the night and the day 73.20. In all these references the verb is qaddar, so that as far as usage is concerned to determine, decree, appoint, etc., seem to represent the most common meaning of this word. However, in this instance (80.19f.) to render qaddar by the word "fated" may be an attempt to read a later theological concept into the Qur'ān which is, of course, to be deprecated.

When we consider the emphasis which the Qur'ān places on the material side of man's nature, and its evident lack of interest in the higher and more spiritual aspects of man's essential qualities it is not surprising to learn from our source that it conceived that there is an inherent weakness in man somewhere. That the Qur'ān was unduly conscious of the earthbound aspect of man's nature is evident from 15.26ff., 38.77 where we are told that the Jinn and Iblīs were created from "pure fire" but man who is only bashar was created out of "clay" or "black mud". A

creature whose fundamental essence is of such gross materials must of necessity be weak and mortal.

He is e.g. hasty, having been created of 'ajal (haste) 21.38, or is by creation hasty. He is also said to have been created of weakness (du'f) 30.53. Indeed we are told that this mortal creature was created da'if (weak) 4.32. In spite of the fact that his birth had its genesis in a divine creative act flaws appear in the character of this creature of "clay".

Indeed in 113.2 there is a suggestion of evil in "what He (Allah) created", and if we interpret the phrase mā'khalag in a general sense man must be included in all that has come from the Creator's hands. On the other hand what has been created may not be necessarily evil. As Baidāwī suggests the sharr referred to in 113.2 may reside in the will of those creatures who enjoy a measure of moral freedom, or in the natural effects of such things as fire, tempest, etc. On this interpretation evil would not then be an essential element in the created world. But whether the material world be evil in itself or not the Qur'ān has no illusions regarding the hard lot that man faces in his physical environment. In 90.4 it is said that man was created (khalag) in (fī) or unto trouble (kabad), which Dr. Bell understands to mean "subject to trouble"; trouble which may derive from his fellow creatures or from the natural effects of necessary agents in the material world. This is probably the most popular interpretation of the phrase fī kabad in 90.4; man has been created in difficulty in the sense that he has been born into a state in which he has to contend with difficulties in this life. But Lane quotes authorities who wish to interpret fī kabad to mean in a right state, i.e. upright, walking on two legs in contradistinction to the animals who are not erect; and since there is



good authority for this interpretation cognizance must be taken of it.

The Qur'anic doctrine of sin will be discussed in chapter four, but it may be remarked here that it is difficult to say whether the Qur'an thought that God's creature of "clay" was inherently or necessarily evil. Probably the material from which man is made and fashioned by God's creative activity is not essentially evil but the nafs certainly was conceived to possess sinful propensities. In 91.8f. we learn that the nafs may be taught ('alham, inspired) to do evil or good, and the teacher (inspirer) in both cases is "He who completed (or fashioned) it".

The angels certainly knew of the grim possibilities lying dormant within man because in 2.28 they ask, in reply to the announcement that God was about to place man on the earth, "Wilt Thou place in it (the earth) one (i.e. man) who will corrupt it and shed blood?" Which lends point to the earnest entreaty in 53.33, "Do not seek to justify yourselves (<sup>u</sup>lā t<sup>u</sup>ẓakkū, assert not your 'alleged' purity)"; an appeal to men that is more pointed because of the reminder that precedes it, viz., that Allah, who produced man from the earth and made him to become an embryo in the womb, has by virtue of this creative activity a perfect knowledge of the nafs. And in 50.14f. we are told that because God has created man His knowledge of him is so intimate that He is aware even of what the nafs whispers (tūwaswis) within man, and He 'hears' these inarticulate whisperings because He is closer to man than the jugular vein.

And yet in spite of the rather prosaic account of man's origin the Qur'an testifies to a sense of wonder at the oft recurring miracle of man's birth. It was even in Allah's eyes such an honourable creation that He commanded the angels to worship man,

although the angels did demur 15.28f. But although man's birth is wonderful "the creation of the heavens and the earth is greater than the creation of the people" 40.59. And 4.1 seems to suggest that the <sup>n</sup>perennial wonder of man's birth due to the formative power of the hands of the divine Potter, and that Allah's creative activity extends even to the "clay" from which man is produced, are sufficient grounds for addressing an appeal to men to "fear" ('ittaqā) God. Another indication of the Qur'ān's sense of wonder vis-a-vis man's creation is given in the honorific title which Allah bestowed upon Adam. In 2.28 he is called God's khalīfah, vicegerent, substitute or representative. Perhaps this was the Qur'ān's way of expressing the Old Testament idea that man was created in the image of God Gen.1.26f.; a concept that is found in the New Testament too, cf. Col.3.10, Jas.3.9.

Undoubtedly the silence of the Qur'ān regarding the creation of man in the image of God brings to light one of the important differences between it and the Old Testament in their respective anthropologies. Orthodox Islām has always steadfastly refused to believe that man was made in God's image because it has been one of its chief concerns to emphasize the otherness (mukhālafah) of Allah. The concept is not unknown in Muslim Tradition, and the references to it there have caused much embarrassment to the orthodox theologians of Islām and compelled them to adopt strange expedients to explain away the phrase "in His image" which does occur in Tradition.

It is probably due to this desire to stress the mukhālafah of Allah that orthodox Muslims insist that the words, "I breathed into him (man) from My rūh" are on no account to be understood to mean that Allah has given of His own spirit to man. They insist that the rūh that was breathed into man was as much a creation as man

himself. There cannot, therefore, be any spiritual kinship between God and man. The fact that God and man are essentially different means that there can be no kinship between them. "There is nought like Him" is the basic teaching of the Qur'ān about God. God and man are quite apart, wholly unlike in essence, and, therefore, there can be no personal relationship between them. We shall see later what this means in the religious life of man in chapter eight, but it may be pointed out here that by its rejection of the concept of the image of God in man, and of the rūh of God in man (in the Christian sense) the Qur'ān at once makes it impossible to believe in the reality of spiritual communion between God and man or in the possibility of God being revealed in man. *that "He might prove man", or put him on trial. The verb*

The Qur'ān teaches that the creation of man is a "sign" ('āyah), a wonder or miracle from God 30.19. Man's birth occurs in a long list of other 'āyāt which if read aright would lead men from the worship of idols to a knowledge of Allah. *ation. Perhaps*

And such a signal manifestation of God's creative activity in the birth of man must surely have a purpose behind it commensurate with the high dignity that it confers upon man. And the Qur'ān shows what the purpose was that prompted Allah to create man. In 51.56 we are told that man was created only to worship ('abad) God. In this verse it is said that the jinn were created by God for the same purpose. The verb 'abad is not used exclusively of worship. It often means to serve, so that man was created in order that he might worship God and serve Him by doing His will. 2.19 ought to be considered in conjunction with 51.56 because in it the Qur'ān proclaims that men have been created lā'allakum tattaqūn "haply ye may fear (or reverence, honour) Allah".

In 22.5 the Qur'ān announces that man has been created in



order that the divine Creator might "explain" or "manifest" (bayyan) some things to the creature. What Allah wishes to explain to man we are not told in this verse but the verb bayyan occurs very frequently in the Qur'ān and is most often used with reference to the explanation of "signs". The general idea is that of revelation. But the important point to notice at this juncture is that Allah's creation of man, through the processes of conception and the development of the embryo in the womb, and the subsequent provision for sustaining man's life as a 'sign', especially a 'sign' that He is able to restore man to life after He has lain in the grave.

Again, in 76.2 it is said that man has been created by God in order that "He might prove man", or put him on trial. The verb 'abtalā to try, test, or even afflict, occurs frequently in the Qur'ān and will have to be considered later in connection with divine Providence in chapter two, but it is important to notice that that is one of the purposes of man's creation. Perhaps 76.2 is a reference to God's testing or proving man in relation to his destiny, and we shall see later that God uses all manner of situations and experiences to put man to the test in order to prove his character, and his fitness or otherwise to enter paradise.

And not only does the world in which man lives belong to Allah by right of creation. It is His also because by His power and creative activity it brings forth fruit, vegetables and grain 6.98. In all this productive activity nothing happens by chance nor does anything result from secondary causes. The immediate activity of God is the power that is alone responsible for the earth's productivity. The very winds on whose wings the rain clouds are carried along belong to Allah 7.55. It is He who sends down the hail 24.43, and the rain

## MAN AND DIVINE PROVIDENCE IN THE NATURAL ORDER.

Having considered the teaching of the Qur'ān on the creation of man we now go on to inquire into what it has to say about the world in which man finds his temporary home, what his reactions are to the experiences that come to him out of his physical environment, and what his attitude ought to be towards the material and the transitory things of life.

At the outset let us remind ourselves that the Qur'ān has no shadow of doubt on one point regarding this world and the universe of which it forms a part: both belong to Allah. Within them His will is absolute and alone determinative. This physical environment in which man lives is Allah's because He alone created it (6.1 and often). 2.27 tells us that it was He who created all that is in the earth and then He proceeded to the heaven and fashioned (sawwā) it into seven heavens. Darkness and light are also the result of Allah's creative activity 6.1, as also are the earth's contours, the mountains, the rivers and the land between the seas 27.61-65.

And not only does the world in which man lives belong to Allah by right of creation. It is His also because by His power and creative activity it brings forth fruit, vegetables and grain 6.99. In all this productive activity nothing happens by chance nor does anything result from secondary causes. The immediate activity of God is the power that is alone responsible for the earth's productivity. The very winds on whose wings the rain clouds are carried along belong to Allah 7.55. It is He who sends down the hail 24.43, and the rain

11.2.

14.37 upon the 'dead land' 7.55, making it fall where He pleases and turning it away from where He pleases 24.43. As a result of this direct beneficent activity on the part of the Creator something closely akin to a resurrection takes place in the world of nature. Life in the form of vegetation 7.56 appears out of the 'dead land', and gardens with beautiful trees 27.61 delight the eye of the desert dweller. In addition corn, olives, palms, grapes and some of every fruit 16.11 provide sustenance for man in his present home.

But the universe belongs to Allah for a further reason. It is His because it is under His immediate control, and is the sphere in which, and the instrument by which, He works out His purposes. The sun, the moon and the stars are subject to His bidding. It is due to His ceaseless control that the sun does not overtake the moon 36.40, and the moon passes through its various phases 36.39. The word translated phases is manāzil and really means mansions and is thought to refer to the twenty-eight constellations through which the moon passes as it proceeds through its various monthly phases. The Arabs also observed the atmospheric and climatic changes which followed as the moon passed through each of the twenty-eight constellations and in time came to ascribe to these various constellations divine powers which enabled them to effect such changes. In 10.5 and 36.39 the Qur'ān insists that it is Allah who takes the moon through its phases and who is, therefore, directly responsible for the climatic changes which used to be ascribed to the divine powers thought to reside in the constellations.

By His decree night alternates with day 10.6. The number of the months has been settled and entered into His book from the beginning of time 9.36. By the unvarying rising and setting of the celestial spheres man is able to reckon up the number of the years 10.5. But Allah's will operates not only in the celestial realm. It also



determines the course of things terrestrial. The sea, so unpredictable, the wādīs, one moment dry, rock-strewn gashes on the inhospitable landscape, the next raging torrents were, in spite of appearances subject to the bidding of Allah's supreme command 14.37. It is because of His control over such a mighty force as the sea that man is able to ride upon it in safety 14.37. Indeed divine control extends to the very action of the ship sailing on the sea for we are told that it is God who 'compels' (sakhkhar) the ships to move through the waters. In the same way the clouds are 'pressed into the service of' mankind by Allah 2.159.

But Allah's ceaseless control extends beyond the celestial bodies and the terrestrial forces to the very fowls of the air which to the careless eye seems to fly hither and thither subject to no law, answering no one's bidding. The Qur'ān perceived that the birds of the heavens whose movements were as unpredictable as the motion of the homeless sea and the sudden roar of the wādī were, nevertheless, held in, kept back (<sup>a</sup>imsak) by God 16.81: and with rare poetic insight the Qur'an conceived that the whirr of the birds' wings outspread joined in the great paean of praise which all creation chorused to their Creator 24.41 who 'slumbers not nor sleeps' 2.256.

This world, then, and the vast universe of which it is a part and in which man finds his temporary home is conceived to be God's world. Here operates not the caprice of the (often) immoral gods of the heathen, nor the sudden whims of demons, nor the humours of jinn of malicious intent but the decree of Him who alone is God, whose will is sovereign, whose acts are just, and whose intention is merciful. Of course it must not be deduced from this that Muslims operate with the concept of unchanging law in nature. Indeed there was for them "no immovable order of nature" as Prof. D.B. Macdonald points out on p.7 of his book The Religious Attitude and Life in Islām. The Muslim

recognises an unpredictable element in the laws of nature and knows little or nothing of the bondage to the concept of unalterable law into which the Westerner has brought himself. He recognises an element of irregularity in the divine decrees. Neither before Islām nor later did any abstract idea of law emerge. Apparently even contact with Greek concepts did not result in the introduction of any such idea into Islamic theology. The Muslim did not think in terms of a supreme law of the universe but rather of the will of the divine ruler of the universe as that was expressed in His revealed commands. It is interesting to note that the Old Testament like the Qur'ān does not operate with a concept of a law of nature. There is, therefore, no possibility of any conflict between a will of God expressing itself in a law of nature or a natural order and a will of God that might be conceived to break through the law of nature in order to impose itself on the already existing natural order. H.W. Rodinson, The Christian Doctrine of Man. p.63. On the other hand the world is a sphere where Allah is active and where His purposes are being realised.

What, then, according to the Qur'ān follows from this great conviction as far as man is concerned? What is man to make of the situation in which he finds himself? Since secondary causes are by the Qur'ān excluded from the mechanics of man's physical environment it follows automatically that man is completely dependent upon God for the supply of all the needs of which he is conscious at the moral, the spiritual and the physical levels. Naturally, of course, to a man living in a land as inhospitable as Arabia where he was made so acutely aware of economic problems, physical needs would take precedence over others; and this is, in fact, what the Qur'ān reflects.

Men are said to be paupers (fugarā'u) in need of Allah who is independent, self-sufficient (ghaniyy) 35.16, and has the power to carry them off. And because Allah has the power to carry them off in a moment men are sustained in/ It would be an altogether indispen-

life merely because it is His will that they should continue to exist 35.17, quite apart from their complete dependence upon Allah for daily needs which, of course, the Qur'ān emphasizes. In the Qur'ān the food that man eats is the gift of Allah, the expression of His bounty and mercy. All men are nourished by Him though He Himself is nourished by none 6.14, and many are the provisions which needy mortals receive from His open hands 6.142, 23.17-22; so numerous indeed are Allah's mercies that man is quite unable to count them 14.37. It was probably the experience of hard times that led the Qur'ān to remark that not only does God provide man with food but He it is who 'doles it out' (yaqdir) 13.26.

So that we can well understand why the Qur'ān often urges man to be grateful to Allah 16.115, 2.167, etc., for His mercies and favours so freely bestowed. One of the commonest words in the Qur'ān to describe Allah's bounties to men is rizq which means daily food, means of living, rations. See e.g. 14.37 where it is said that "Allah.....hath brought fruits as a provision for you....." It is also the word used to describe the reward which Allah has laid up in store for the faithful 22.57. Rizq was one of the four things that Fate was conceived to determine as far as the pagan Arabs were concerned. These four things were, in addition to rizq (man's substance), ajal (term of man's life), the sex of a child, and happiness or misery. As will be pointed out later rizq was exceedingly precarious in the desert. Naturally the miraculous provision by God of manna and quails for the Children of Israel in the wilderness was a signal proof of His wonderful faithfulness towards the sons of men 20.82.

Man is also dependent upon Allah for fire. Doubtless the ancient ancestor of the modern Bedouin experienced the same fascination and need for fire as the latter so that it is not surprising that the Qur'ān should place great emphasis on the fact that fire was a gift from Allah and a sign from Him. It would be an altogether indispen-



sable element in the life of those to whom the Qur'ān addressed itself. See e.g. 36.80 which refers to the common practice of rubbing two pieces of wood together. One species of tree (markh), as Lane points out, quickly emits fire, a property which has made the tree proverbial. Where markh was used with another piece of wood to produce fire it was invariably the lower piece. The 'afr was another tree which possessed this property to an unusual degree and when it was used with the markh to produce fire it was the upper piece. The proof that fire was also part of God's bounty to man was seen for the Qur'ān in the fact that the fire came forth out of the markh or the 'afr even when one ( or both) was green and, therefore, wet. In this way Allah provides fire with which man kindles his domestic hearth.

The domestic animals, another indispensable item in man's earthly possessions were, like their masters, dependent, not on their earthly owners but on the divine Creator for their food 29.60. And they in turn become a means by which God feeds man. In this way man not only has flesh to eat and milk to drink 16.68, 23.21, he also provides himself with clothes to wear 16.82. 16.5 remarks, "in them is warmth" (dif'u); and man also has profit (manāfi') from trading with them. Both the more permanent dwelling of the townsman and the bedouin's tent of animals' skins were Allah's gifts to man to afford protection and repose 16.82. Horses, mules and asses were also from God 16.8. The sea is another means by which God provides food for man. The fish is good wholesome fare 16.14, literally 'fresh flesh' (lahm tariyy), a perennial wonder to the Arab when he considered that it came from the salt sea. It was also from the ocean that man was provided with ornaments 16.14, doubtless pearls and coral.

But man is dependent upon the bounty of Allah not only for his food, his clothing and the comforts of home. When he lay down to sleep at night the repose of mind and body was a further manifestation of God's

goodness to him. In 78.9 man is taught that Allah made sleep for rest, and that the night wraps him round as a garment. In two passages (6.60, 39.43) the Qur'ān teaches that when a man falls asleep the soul takes leave of the body and goes to be with Allah, and returns to the body at the moment of waking. The first of these two references is not quite so unambiguous as the second. It merely says, "And it is He who takes you (to Himself) in the night." The verb is yatawaffā, a word which is often used in the Qur'ān to describe what takes place at death when Allah takes the soul to Himself. Cf. e.g. 5.117, 10.47, 104, 16.72, 13.40 where it is said that Allah Himself takes the soul away; and again cf. 4.99, 6.61, 47.29, 8.52, 32.11, 16.30, 34 where it is said that it is the angels who take the soul to Allah. The point we wish to make is that in all these instances the verb used is the same (tawaffā) and death is undoubtedly implied. Therefore since it is the same verb which occurs in 6.60 where sleep is the question at issue it is obvious that the Qur'ān wishes to make it clear that at the moment a man falls <sup>s</sup> asleep the soul departs from the body in exactly the same way as it is taken from the body at the moment of death.

The element of ambiguity in 6.60 is not repeated in 39.43 where in the first part of the verse it is stated that God takes to Himself (yatawaffā) souls at the time of death, and in the second clause it is said, "And those who do not die (He takes) in their sleep." This is amplified in the last part of the same verse where we read, "And He holds back those (souls whom He has taken to Himself) on whom He has decreed death, and sends back (to the bodies of the sleepers) others till their appointed time." The association of the two ideas, the deliberate manner in which the Qur'ān brings them into juxtaposition is unmistakable, as are also the implications which inevitably arise from its treatment of the phenomena of sleep and death.

The use of the term sleep to describe death is common enough and excites no comment, but to describe the ordinary phenomenon of nocturnal sleep in terms which imply that it is to be equated with what one commonly means by death is undoubtedly most strange. The analogy of sleep and death to describe a man's decease is often used in the New Testament. The Synoptic gospels all report the death of Jairus' daughter (Mt 9.18, Mk 5.22, Lk 8.41-56). The child was dead in truth but in each account Jesus is reported as assuring the mourners, professional and otherwise, that the child was not really dead but only asleep. But Luke, known in the primitive Church as 'the beloved physician' betrays his medical knowledge by describing the return to life on the part of the girl in the following terms, "her spirit came again", words which inevitably remind us of the Qur'anic phraseology which we now have under discussion. Again in the Fourth gospel Jesus is reported as describing Lazarus' death in terms of sleep, and informs His disciples that He is going to wake him up from sleep 11.11, though vv.12-13 clearly show that Lazarus was actually dead. In the rest of the New Testament literature the death of Christians is often described as 'falling asleep', Ac 7.50, 1Th 4.13-15, 1Cor 15.18 are typical. What we do not know is whether in New Testament times people held the obverse side so to speak of this conception and thought of nocturnal sleep in terms of the departure of the spirit and death as the Qur'an undoubtedly does. Bishop Westcott in a note on Jn 11.11 remarks that "the image" (of sleep to describe death) "is common in Rabbinic writings."

In places the Old Testament comes nearer to the concept of sleep as expressed in the Qur'an. There is e.g. a very close connection between God and the sleeper implied in Ps 4.8 and 3.5. In the latter reference the writer says, "I laid me down and slept; I awaked; for the Lord sustained me"; suggesting that the sleeping and the awakening



depended directly on the Lord. The same close link between the sleeper and God is explicitly stated in Ps 13.3 where, in the last limb of the verse, the writer prays, "Lighten mine eyes, lest I sleep the (sleep of) death." Undoubtedly such a sentiment reminds us powerfully of the two Qur'anic verses under review. The psalmist clearly thinks of sleep in terms of death, indeed he appears to equate the two ideas. Sleep is a state of unconsciousness from which he will not awake unless God intervenes, in which case death will simply be the continuation of the state induced in sleep. There is an identical association of ideas in Jeremiah 51.39 and Psalm 76.5,6.

And one cannot resist the conclusion that the writer of Genesis 2 (which critics describe as the older and more naive account of creation) must have thought of the Adamic sleep which he reports in terms of a state of death, otherwise how could the operation described in v.21 have been performed? And in a famous passage in Job 33, which describes the sleep of man as a deep sleep and gives an account of the divine influences which may work on a man's mind while he is in such a condition of unconsciousness, there occurs the same phrase as is found in surah 39.43, "He <sup>God</sup> (Allah) keepeth back his (man's) soul from the pit." The verb in Job 33.18 is khasak while in the Qur'an the root is masak, but in each case the realm of ideas is identical. In surah 39.43 Allah holds back the soul from returning to the sleeper in order to make the temporary state of death (in sleep) permanent while in Job 33.18 Elohim holds back the soul of the sleeper from sheol in order to prevent the temporary state of death (in sleep) from becoming permanent.

Sleep is such a profound mystery even now that one is not surprised to learn that this phenomenon led men of ancient times to interpret it in terms of death. It is still very much the crux in physiology and psychology though authorities such as Freud have shed

much light on this ancient problem. The avenues of sense are closed and the mind is detached from the outside world. There is something awe inspiring in the motionless face of the sleeper, temporarily deprived of sight and movement, the torpor of muscle and nerve and the unresponsiveness of the whole organism presenting a striking contrast to the same personality when completely awake. We need not be surprised to learn that the men of Mohammed's day supposed that the soul was temporarily withdrawn from the body of the sleeper.

One of the difficulties that emerge from the Qur'anic conception of sleep is that which is related to dreams and visions. If the sleeper is 'dead' then how is one to explain the phenomenon of dreams? A Muslim writer such as Ibn Khaldūn was aware of the difficulties involved, and in an attempt to show how the sleeper may have intercourse with the unseen world while in a state of unconsciousness he propounds a theory of which the following is a brief summary.

Ibn Khaldūn claims that the veil of the senses may be raised in sleep, and it is at that moment that the soul touches the world of reality. He explains this lifting of the veil of the senses in sleep as follows. The soul apprehends only by means of the physical animal spirit which is that part of man that imparts consciousness of the five senses and also of the actions of the body. Now it is through this animal spirit that the rational soul is able to apprehend and reason. It is, as it were, the realm of the personality where the soul operates. In addition, however, Ibn Khaldūn points out that the rational soul may apprehend by the powers of the brain. That is to say the soul has two avenues at its disposal by which it may apprehend and reason, a physical and a 'psychical', or, to use his own terms, an external (the senses) and an internal (the brain). Now it is because these five senses are physical that they are sub-

ject to the phenomenon of sleep, and through this sleep which affects wholly and immediately dependent upon Allah, the senses the soul is itself affected in turn with drowsiness.

Because of this the soul must seek repose so that its powers of reasoning and apprehending may be restored. This renewal of the soul is effected by the withdrawal of the animal spirit from the five senses (physical and external) and its return to the brain (the internal sense), and it is during that period when the spirit withdraws from the external senses and seeks the internal senses that drowsiness is experienced and sleep ensues. It is then too that the rational soul begins to apprehend by means of the brain or, as Ibn Khaldūn says, returns to the memory where, of course, forms and images are stored and thus dreams visit the sleeper. In some such way Ibn Khaldūn seeks to explain sleep and the visions that often attend this unconscious state. But in common with many others he goes on to connect this activity of the rational soul in the realm of memory during sleep with God and explains it in terms of the divine working behind the curtain of sense. In the opinion of Ibn Khaldūn dreams and visions become a means of access to the world of things unseen. It will be observed that there is no suggestion in his theory of sleep of the soul taking leave of the body in sleep and returning to God, but he does connect the phenomenon of dreams with divine activity and may be said to make God responsible for the dreams that visit the sleeper. (See the Muqaddimah to Ibn Khaldūn's Universal History; The Religious Attitude and Life in Islām by D.B. Macdonald; Prophecy and Divination by A. Guillaume ch.5 where Ibn Khaldūn's theory and Maimonides' teaching on the subject are discussed).

In the light of these verses from the Qur'ān which we have had under review it is easy to appreciate why the Qur'ān teaches man that sleep is one of Allah's good gifts, and that for this bounty



and for the awakening to life again on each returning day he is wholly and immediately dependent upon Allah. Nor can it be without significance that the verb used to describe the awakening from the sleep of death and from nocturnal sleep is identical, i.e. ba'ath. Cf. e.g. 2.261, 2.53, 16.40, 72.7, 6.36, 58.19. This would suggest that the latter awakening was regarded as a resurrection in the same sense as a resurrection from the sleep of death. In this connection it is interesting to notice that in 36.52 the name given to the grave is margad, a bed or sleeping place. The two ideas are again brought together in the story of The Sleepers in the Cave in surah 18. The awakening from the sleep of years was thought of as being in the nature of a resurrection.

It is possible too that the Qur'ān means to teach man to depend upon God for healing. In a passage which reports what Abraham said to his father we read, "And when I am sick He (God) heals me 26.80. And in 16.70-71 the Lord is said to inspire the bee to do certain things, amongst others to eat from every fruit. As a result of this there issues forth from its body a fluid of various hues which yieldeth medicine for men. Doubtless man is expected to look upon other substances which possess medicinal or healing properties as gifts for which he is wholly dependent upon God.

Again, when we consider the nomadic habits of many of the people to whom the Qur'ān addressed its message it is not surprising that it urges them to recognise their dependence upon Allah for guidance while journeying through desert ways. Indeed in 16.15-16 it is said to be God who prepares the rivers and roads, establishes land marks and creates the stars, the permanent objects by the help of which desert wanderers find their way. But, of course, the guidance for which man is completely dependent upon God is that which leads his erring feet into the Right Path, into Islām, a path which he would never find apart from the grace of Allah 49.17.

Since then this world in which man finds his home is God's world, and since all that man receives in this life comes directly from Him it follows most naturally that the events which take place in the world in general and in the experience of man in particular are engineered by Allah who governs the world in might and wisdom; and this the Qur'ān makes quite clear. The manifestations of the mighty forces which lie at the heart of what moderns call 'Nature' are, in the Qur'ān, manifestations of the Presence and activity of Allah. The rainfall results from God opening the gates of heaven 54.11. The springs appear where the Creator has burst open the earth 54.12. The roaring hurricane that sweeps men off their feet as though they were uprooted palm trees is the work of God 54.19-20. The storm cloud which first darkens the sky, and then pierces the gloom with blinding flashes of lightning, and rends the air with awesome thunderclaps that strike terror into the hearts of men, driving them to put their fingers to their ears, is considered to be God's way of encompassing the unbelievers 2.15-18. The earthquake, so terrible that it appears as if the shuddering earth were about to cleave open under the reeling footsteps of men, is the work of God in the heavens 67.16.

And as the natural phenomena were signs of God in action so in as real a way and in as direct a manner the events that took place in the daily life of men were engineered by Allah. Since the kingdoms of the heavens and the earth are His He creates what He pleases. He it is who determines the sex of the child in the womb, and decrees that this shall be barren and that shall bear 42.49.

That affliction and joy are both alike from Him is indicated in a passage where Allah and the idols are being compared. The Qur'ān reports Muhammed in the following terms, "If God wished me harm could they (the idols) remove His harm? Or did He wish me mercy

could they withhold His mercy?" 39.39. Allah might well strip off from man mercies bestowed as well as cause him to taste comfort and consolation 4.12. In another passage where scorn is being poured upon the idols which the Children of Israel had made and worshipped the question is asked, "What! Saw they not that it (the idol)..... could neither hurt nor help them?" 20.91, insinuating on the one hand that it could not, and on the other that hurt and harm are the prerogatives of Allah.

The action of the Egyptians leaving behind them their rich corn lands and well watered gardens to pursue after the Children of Israel, their ultimate destruction in the sea and the subsequent giving of their land to another people for an inheritance are all events engineered by God 44.24-28. Solomon's kingdom came to him from God 38.34ff., and his varied gifts as 38.38 suggests. We can well appreciate, therefore, how Luqmān's advice to his son would come to every believer's heart charged with profound emotion, "O my son.....be patient of what befalls thee, verily that is one of the determined affairs 31.16. Nothing could better express the Qur'anic doctrine of the universe and the life of man as lived out in the world of God's creation. He creates, controls, sustains and wills all that befalls man in this his mortal life, and patient, submissive acceptance is what He demands from His creatures.

Where, then, in this physical environment is man to find refuge from, and consolation in the storms of life that buffet him? In a few passages of haunting beauty (clearly passages that could have been written only by one whose heart had known its own bitterness) the Qur'ān is ready to speak to the man with whom life has dealt harshly and tell him of the infallible source of consolation- Allah ʾr-rahmān ʾr-rahīm. In this world of seeming chance and change, of sudden sickness and untimely death where operates a mysterious providence, permitting disaster to overtake the pious man



frustrating his dearest hopes and bringing him ultimately to apparent defeat- in such a world man needs to be able to reach out his hand in the dark and clutch the hand of final reality. He needs a place of refuge where his faith in the ultimate goodness and justice of Allah can be sustained or restored, and the Qur'ān is able to do this for the pious believer because it contains the account of the Prophet's day of darkness when, *de profundis*, he reached out the hand of faith and grasped eternal reality. "The Lord hath not forsaken thee nor hated thee! And surely the future shall be better for thee than the past. And at the last the Lord will be bounteous to thee and thou shalt be satisfied. Did He not find thee an orphan and give thee a home? And found thee wandering (i.e. erring, because prior to his call to the prophetic office Muhammed, of course, followed the religion of his contemporaries though it is fairly certain that his conformity can have been only partial) and guided thee? And found thee destitute and enriched thee?" 93.3-8. .... 94.1-6; would also

In such a world as this the account of Allah's gracious dealings with the mother of Moses must also often have braced many a sorrowing heart. "We (God) restored him (Moses) to his mother that she might be consoled (lit. <sup>kai</sup> tagarra 'aynuhā, that her eye might be refreshed), and that she might not fret, and that she might know that the promise of God was true" 28.12. If man knew that the sorrows and catastrophies of life emanated from a God who felt like that he could be sure that the power behind all life was ultimately good and just. His promises were sure. Even though appearances were

Such a serene faith would also be sustained by such words as the following, "There is no God but He; the Living, the Eternal; nor slumber seizeth Him, nor sleep; His whatsoever is in the heavens and whatsoever is in the earth.....He knows what hath been before them and what shall be after them; yet nought of His knowledge shall they grasp save what He willeth. His throne reached over the heavens

11.16.

and the earth, and the upholding of both burdeneth Him not; and He is the High, the Great 2.256 (Rodwell). True, such a God seemed to be remote from and indifferent to the common ways and sorrows of men but the pious man knew better. He was certain that "Allah is the Light of the heavens and of the earth. His light is like a niche in which is a lamp encased in glass, the glass as it were a glittering star. From a blessed tree is it lighted.....whose oil would well shine out, even though fire touched it not! It is light upon light. God guideth whom He will to His light.....24.35 (Rodwell).

With such a God controlling life and destiny the pious man could trust and not be afraid. The God who whispered in Moses' heart when all seemed lost, "Fear not! thou shalt have the upperhand" 20.71; and in a day of doubt and apparent defeat steadied the faith of Muhammed by reminding him, "Have We not.....eased thee of thy burden which galled thy back? And exalted for thee thy renown? Then verily along with trouble cometh ease...."94.1-6; would also whisper to the heart of the humble believer, "God rescues you from the darkness thereof and from every trouble....." 6.64. After all was he not one of the 'friends of God'? Why then should he fear or grieve? Had he not received good tidings in this life and in the life that is to come? And from what he had experienced of divine favour in the past he could believe that there was no possibility of change in the words of Allah: "verily upon the friends of God rests no fear.....there is no alteration in the words of Allah..... 10.63-65. His promises were sure. Even though appearances were against such a tremendous venture of faith he could continue to co-operate with this beneficent Power and so 'prosper', knowing that to work against Allah was to fail even although the wicked seemed to prosper. And "This is from thee" (Muhammed) if a bad thing be-

Here, then, is man living in his temporary home in God's world.

It has to be pointed out, however, that that unambiguous announce-

Whatever happens to him of joy or sorrow, pain or pleasure, misfortune or success comes from Allah whose will is absolute. What, we may well ask, is to be man's attitude to the experiences that meet him in the course of his pilgrimage through life? He does he react to God's ways with him? The Qur'ān has much to say on this matter.

On one aspect of the question of man's lot in this life the Qur'ān is quite sure, it is that life's events are divinely engineered. It is Allah who exalts to ranks or degrees (of wisdom and power) 6.83. If a man escapes with his life from a storm at sea it is by God's decree <sup>9</sup>29.65. Joseph was delivered from prison and his brethren were brought from the desert to Egypt because it was the will of Allah 12.101. Man recovers from sickness because it is the Lord who heals him 26.80. He it is who makes men laugh and brings them to tears, who causes to die and causes to live, who enriches and gives possession, who destroys nations and overthrows cities 53.45-54. The distributions of the livelihoods among men is determined by God, and He it is who exalts to high degree and brings others into subjection to those whom He has exalted 43.31.

Both good and evil, therefore, have their genesis in, if not the primary, at least in the permissive will of Allah. On occasion the Qur'ān seems to teach that man's misfortunes are the direct result of the divine will. In 6.17 God is said to touch man with harm as He touches man with good, and that none can take off the trouble but He alone. In 3.147f. Allah is said to send trouble after trouble upon men though He sometimes sends down safety after trouble. And the Qur'ān reports Muhammed as saying, "I have no control over what may be helpful or hurtful to me, but as God willeth" 7.188. In 4.80 men are reported as saying, "This is from God" if good fortune befall them, and "This is from thee" (Muhammed) if a bad thing befall them. In reply the Qur'ān says, "It is all from God".

It has to be pointed out, however, that that unambiguous announce-



ment is somewhat qualified by the words, "Whatever good befalls thee is from God, and whatever befalls thee of evil is from thyself....." But perhaps the statement in 64.11 may be taken as typical of the teaching of the Qur'ān with regard to the misfortunes that overtake man in this life, "No calamity has happened but by the permission of Allah." I.e. the calamity is due to the 'permissive' will of God, not necessarily to the 'primary' will of God. The bringing of Joseph and his brethern to Egypt was due to the will of God in a direct and primary sense. The situation that led up to that event was, however, created by the breach which took place between Joseph and his brethern, and though that breach was not caused directly by the will of Allah He did obviously permit it. As a matter of fact the responsible agent for the breach was Satan 12.101.

Of course there is another sense in which man's misfortunes are the direct outcome of his own misdeeds 39.52, but such mischances may also be ascribed to the permissive will of Allah. It means that if man co-operates with God he will prosper 91.9, but refusal to work in harmony with the will of Allah leads to destruction 2.25, 91.10. So that there is a sense in which the Qur'ān would subscribe to the New Testament idea expressed in the words, "Whatsoever a man soweth that shall he also reap." One man may choose to sow and reap in the harvest field of this world, another may choose to work the harvest field of the world to come. Both will find that the fructifying powers peculiar to each realm will co-operate by producing an appropriate harvest, the harvest of the world to come or the harvest of this life. Indeed the Qur'ān is as explicit as the New Testament in this regard: "If one wishes the cultivation of the Hereafter We shall give him increase in his cultivation, and if one wishes the cultivation of this world We shall give him some of it, but he will have in the Hereafter no

share" 42.19. Cf. Gal 6.7-8. Mt 6.1-4. In this sense the Qur'an is true when it says that a man gets exactly (the result of) his striving 53.40ff.

Which is doubtless the Qur'an's way of saying that this is a moral world. Indeed it is one divine idea that connects the whole universe and makes of it one system of perfect order. There is a law in nature which says that success is proportioned to the labour spent upon the work, success, that is to say, in kind and in degree. But a similar law operates in the moral and spiritual realm as well.

Of course the man who determines to live for the life to come is not left to his own resources. The God whom the belie<sup>e</sup>ver serves is not indifferent to the difficulties that confront those who endeavour to flee the vanities of this life. Indeed in 3.145ff there is the suggestion that Allah feels with His people when misfortune befalls them. When trouble after trouble came upon the believers at Uhud He tempered their sense of disappointment and discouragement by sending down security upon them after the trouble. And knowing that Allah cared for him even when appearances gave the lie to that conviction the ordinary believer knew that he too had access to the same security that Muhammed had needed in his hour of extremity.

This security in God from the dangers of this earthly life is expressed with moving simplicity in surah 113 where the Prophet betakes himself to the Lord for refuge against the evils of the created world and the eerie darkness of the night, against the mischief which witches would work and the enmity of the envious. And in surah 114 Muhammed flees to Allah for safety from Satan the whisperer of evil suggestions in the human heart, and from jinn and men. With such examples the humblest believer need never feel forsaken or exiled in such a world as this. In spite of appearances it was God's world still; and earth's keenest sorrow was tempered for the

believer by the thought that it happened because Allah permitted it and, therefore, He knew and cared. The Power behind the apparently implacable forces of nature was still just and good. *the psycho-*

To the question Why does Allah act in the manner that He does towards His creatures? Why does He exalt this man and abse that? <sup>a</sup>

The answer is- in order to test and prove man. Of course, the fundamental reason which determines Allah's often inscrutable ways with men is simply because it is His pleasure so to act; but as His reason for creating man at all was to put him on trial so during his pilgrimage through life man is ever being put to the test by God by means of the various providences that visit him. *of the same surah*

This is one of the great features in the Qur'anic doctrine of man and a thorough study of it will have to be made later, but we must notice at this juncture that both prosperity and poverty are the divine means of testing what is in man. It is, e.g., God's way of separating the sincere from the insincere believer. That was the reason for the reverse suffered at Uhud 3.134f. It was also Allah's method of finding out among the believers those who really trusted Him and those who were anxious about themselves ('ahammathum 'anfusuhum) and suspected God (yazunnun bi'llah ghayr 'lhaqq) 3.146ff.

10.38 suggests that prosperity may even come from God in order to lead astray. In this passage Moses, in prayer, observes that the Lord had given Pharaoh and his nobles splendour and wealth in this present life "that they may err from Thy way". Moses goes on to beseech the Lord to "confound their riches and harden their hearts that they may not believe...." suggesting strongly that here Moses is pleading with God to bring to completion the process that was started when He showered wealth and splendour upon Pharaoh and his nobles. Therefore in 20.131 man is urged not to strain the eye after that with which God has provided the few- pomp and prosperity-



because that has been bestowed in order to test their character and the set of values with which they operate in this life.

An examination of the many passages which describe the psychological reactions in men to the experiences and dispensations meted out to them by Allah suggests that the human heart has been the same in all ages. There is something strangely modern about 17.85f in which we are told that when God acts favourably towards a man he turns away from God and forgets his Creator; but when evil touches him he is immediately plunged into despair. 41.49 remarks that man never tires of praying for good but if mischance touch him he is filled with a sense of hopelessness. But v.51 of the same surah tells us that when man does prosper he has no further need for God while affliction brings him to his knees and makes of him a man of long prayers. Another reaction to God's ways with man is described in 10.23f. When the ship is sailing in fair weather the men rejoice therein, but when the wind becomes boisterous and the waves turbulent so that they break over the ship the men call upon God in prayer saying, "If Thou dost save us from this we shall surely be among those who are thankful." Alas, with the passing of the danger these same men become rebellious. Cf. also 6.63f., 30.32f.35, 39.11,50.

Of course not all men behave in this fashion. 3.140f. tells of prophets who did not give way when misfortune befell them. The prayer which they offered clearly arose out of sincere hearts and was inspired by faith and resignation. They ask forgiveness of sins and pardon for mistakes made in service, that their footsteps may be firmly established and that they may receive assistance against the enemies of God.

From these remarks on the testings to which men are subjected to at the hands of Allah it follows that this world's pelf is incom-

patible with the possessions of the world to come, and that, in fact, is the general attitude of the Qur'ān to the attractions of this life to whose spell the human heart so readily succumbs. It follows then that it will not share the Old Testament's concern over the problem created by the apparent inequality with which wealth is distributed by God among the sons of men. The Old Testament's undue interest in this matter arose out of its conviction that prosperity was the mark of divine favour, and when it was compelled to recognise that the wealthy were apparently the unrighteous it could find no answer to the question, Why do the wicked prosper and the godly perish? The Qur'ān on the other hand is not conscious of this problem because wealth and poverty, far from being regarded as signs of Allah's favour, were the means by which He tested the hearts of men to see if they were children of the kingdom.

But doubtless there was another element in the situation that influenced the Qur'ān in its attitude to earthly prosperity. It is certain that the conditions in which life was lived in the greater part of Arabia would influence the Qur'ān's attitude to economics in general. The large measure of uncertainty concerning such things as rainfall, the water supply from the wells which was of capital importance in the total life of the Bedouin, etc., would inevitably create a tendency to sit loose to material wealth. There was so much in the economics of desert life to remind man that on earth he had no abiding dwelling and that it would be unwise to rely on earthly prosperity. Inevitably this would colour the Qur'ān's outlook on worldly possessions and help to formulate its teaching concerning wealth. It was perfectly natural that it should remind man that the life of this world was naḥīyah. The Qur'ān recognises that the love of pleasures from women and children, treasured talents of gold and silver, well-bred horses and flocks and cornfields seem fair and desirable to men 3.12, but it urges man not to covet those

who meet with success. At best it is "a little temporary enjoyment" 3.197, and in the end they shall not escape punishment 3.185.

Rather must men regard the life of this world as "a game and a mere pastime" 6.32, 47.38, 29.64. The amassing of riches and the multiplying of children are like plants that spring up suddenly after rain and then as quickly wilt and wither into dry stubble 57.19. It is well to indicate another element (it will be referred to again later) that would help to formulate the Qur'ān's attitude to wealth. The evils that arise from the concentration of wealth in the hands of a few men, thus enabling them to form a powerful syndicate able to dictate policy and give rise to the evils inherent in vested interests must have been apparent in the commercial life of the Mecca of Muhammed's day. The creation of a society in which the extremes of wealth and poverty were permanent and 'necessary' features would be an evil to which the Qur'ān would be alive, and its attitude to wealth would be a natural reaction to its feelings towards the seamier side of Meccan commercial life.

On the other hand it would be wrong to assume that Islām prohibited the faithful from amassing wealth and from enjoying its benefits if the opportunity for doing so presented itself. We shall see too that the Qur'ān often urged believers to give of their substance to Allah. H. Massé in his book ~~X~~ l'Islām suggests that it was <sup>by</sup> this act of offering to Allah part of his goods that a man succeeded in purifying his wealth. On p.126, in speaking of the Zakāt, he says, "Elle (l'Aumône légale) est fondée sur une idée commune aux Arabes et aux Juifs: les biens de ce monde sont purs; mais il est permis de les acquérir et d'en jouir, à condition de les purifier en les restituant partiellement à Allah."

But as far as the Qur'ān is concerned wealth is to be shunned not only because it is transitory but also (and principally) because it "beguiles" men concerning God 31.33, 35.5, 7.49, 57.20. Riches



11.24.

are "a possession of deceit" 3.182. If Allah extends provision to His servants they would "act oppressively in the earth" 42.26. Riches breed a spirit of pride and self-sufficiency in those who possess them 34.33f., 56.44f. As for unbelievers wealth avails nothing against God. The very almsgiving which they practise is like a cold blast which blights the cornfields 3.113. Property and children tend to divert the mind and heart from the remembrance of Allah 10.25. If relatives, wealth, trade and property "are dearer" to their owners than God Himself and His service then a fearful punishment will ensue 9.24. This attitude to wealth reminds us how shocked the old Companions were by the accumulation of wealth and property by members of the Muslim community following the conquests. Doubtless that reaction was an echo of the warnings of the Qur'ān against this amassing of wealth by the Muslims. In this regard the Old Testament makes common cause with the Qur'ān. While the former exalts earthly possessions, many children and long life yet it sets a clear limit to the positive appreciation of life's goods. In the period of the late Monarchy in the northern kingdom increasing riches instead of bringing happiness led many to make satisfaction of a lust for power and pleasure the goal of life. At the same time morality and justice went by the boards, and the break down of loyalty to God threatened the nation with annihilation. But although this situation led to depreciation of earthly goods there was no thought of a withdrawal from earthly life. Nowhere does the Old Testament support the religious ideals that prompted the hermit and the monk to forsake the ways of common men to find salvation in voluntary poverty and celibacy. Not by escape from life but by a penetration of the whole of life by the highest spiritual and moral ideals leading to the radical renewal of the whole of life is what both the Qur'ān and the Old Testament

advocate. Asceticism is not a Qur'anic ideal. It does prohibit wine and sport, and it does invite the faithful to sacrifice life and goods in the cause of Islām, and doubtless these are ascetic in character but it still remains true that asceticism is not a Qur'anic aspiration.

In closing this discussion it is necessary to consider briefly the Qur'ān's attitude to the realm of the unseen, to the superphysical world where spirit beings operate. It will not be essential to introduce the Qur'anic teaching on angels at this early stage because they do not impinge upon the material world to the same extent as the other spirit beings are conceived to do. The Qur'ān undoubtedly suggests that there was in the men of its generation a strong streak of materialism, a this-worldliness, which engendered a curious scepticism regarding the invisible realm; a scepticism which, as D.B. Macdonald remarks, "nearly baffled Muḥammed, and which appears at the present day more or less through the entire desert." The same authority remarks that these hard headed Arabs were always scoffing at their own superstitious beliefs and customs. They always inclined to the attitude of putting the superphysical to the test. Now this curious attitude to the unseen is not to be attributed to lack of faith in the supernatural; such a work as the Arabian Nights, to mention only one, makes that quite clear. It is traceable rather to a lack of knowledge regarding the unseen that has created this scepticism towards the realm which though lying beyond this world impinges upon the natural order at many points. However that may be there was widespread the conviction that the unseen was the sphere where certain spirit beings operated who were able to pass through the veil that divided the seen from the unseen and enter into relationships with men and affect their lives and destinies. There appear to be three categories of spirit beings

with which the imagination peopled the unseen- jinn, shayātīn and malā'ikah, though it would appear that the two first categories are so hopelessly confused in Islām that one can never be certain whether shayātīn are jinn or another genus of spirit beings. Certainly it is impossible to say if ash-shaytān is the devil, the controller of his own species (including the jinn) or is simply a jinn who is particularly malevolent.

In pre-Islamic Arabia the jinn were for heathen Arabs as the nymphs and satyrs of the Greeks and Romans, and represented that side of nature that was still unsubdued and hostile to men. It would appear from the Qur'ān that pre-Islamic Arabs treated them as simple deities. From 37.158 e.g. it seems that the Meccans asserted a kinship (nasab) between them and Allah and considered them to be partners of Allah 6.100. In consequence they made offerings to them 6.128 and sought aid of them 72.6. And Wm. Robertson Smith in his Religion of the Semites p.121 supplies evidence to support the view that in ancient Arabia they were treated as deities. It was also believed that it was the jinn who inspired the kāhin and the shā'ir. Allah meet us everywhere. And yet with all that the Belief in the existence of jinn was taken up into Islām by Muhammed but ideas regarding their nature and activity were greatly modified. The Qur'ān teaches that they were created beings, fashioned by Allah out of smokeless fire 15.27, 55.14 in order to serve Him 51.56. They could assist men (witness their aid to Solomon 27.17,39, 34.10ff.), but they were also able to lead men astray from the path of Allah 41.29, 72.6. Messengers from among themselves came to recount the signs of Allah 6.130. They also listened to Muhammed reciting the Qur'ān 46.28ff. 72.1ff., so that in Islām they are pictured as being partly Muslim, partly unbelieving. So that for the Muslims jinn were real and rational beings



created by Allah and subject to His rule. Like men they too could be 'saved'. Indeed in the passage that describes how they listened to the proclamation of Islām their confession of faith is actually reported 72.2ff. And those who accepted Islām dispersed to carry the message to their fellows 46.28ff.

The arēh enemy with whom man has to contend is in the Qur'ān called Shayṭān or Iblīs. He is the waswas against whom man has to be constantly on guard. In 18.48 he is thought of as being one of the jinn while in 2.32 and 38.74 it is inferred that he is one of the malā'ikah. In his Dictionary of Islām Hughes points out that Shayṭān is the more common of the two names, occurring fifty-two times, while Iblīs occurs only nine times. In 2.32-34 the two names occur and are used of the same personality.

The fundamental fact, then, of the Muslim religious attitude to divine Providence is that the will and power of Allah is over all in this world of time and space and in the realm of the super-physical. Under that shadow men may feel secure. The sense of the all-seeing eye of Allah, and the need for submission to the all-guiding hand of Allah meet us everywhere. And yet with all that there is a sense of the ultimate justice of things in the world. The Muslim feels that it is Allah's world in which he stands, and above is God's sky where he knows he can enter at any time. There is held a court higher than any of which earth can boast, and there justice will be done. Between him and Allah there stands nothing and he is absolutely sure of Allah.

And further, it is this which makes revelation (in the religious sense) possible. When we are confronted by another self we know what we know about that other self through observation of his behaviour, but ultimately the other self cannot be understood until

THE MEDIA OF MAN'S RESPONSE

(A) TO THE WORLD

The two main differentia that separate man from the subhuman are a sense of wonder and self-consciousness. There is that in man which responds to the beauty and majesty of the universe which in turn issues in a sense of wonder and joy. But man is also capable of setting himself over against his fellows. He knows himself to be a subject, and when he stands over against one of his fellows he is conscious of the fact that he is facing another subject. Man, that is to say, can stand not only outside of the world, he is able also to stand outside of himself; which involves the capacity for self-transcendence, the ability to make himself his own object. And the self can make itself its own object in such a way that the ego is finally always subject and not object.

Now man alone, of all created things on earth, has this capacity for making himself his own object. And it is this capacity for self-transcendence which distinguishes spirit from soul in man and which forms the basis of individuality. Animal consciousness cannot transcend the natural processes in which it is involved whereas human consciousness involves the sharp distinction between the self and the totality of the world.

And further, it is this which makes revelation (in the religious sense) possible. When we are confronted by another self we know what we know about that other self through observation of his behaviour, but ultimately the other self cannot be understood until

he speaks. Only the spoken word of the other self can finally disclose himself as subject and not merely as object. It is this that helps us to understand how the self-disclosure of God to man is possible.

Now all this is involved in the Qur'anic doctrine of man as he is viewed in his ability to transcend his physical environment and the other selves with which he is surrounded. Naturally the Qur'ān does not express itself in the foregoing terms, but that such a position is implicit in the Qur'anic doctrine of man will become plain as we proceed. The Qur'ān is quite certain that if man contemplates this world and the phenomena manifested therein he is bound to make a certain response to them, and in making his response to the beauty and majesty of the universe he would ultimately come to see in these things 'signs' by which Allah was attempting to disclose Himself to man. Indeed these 'signs' were, to the Qur'ān, so self-evident that it was forced to conclude that the men to whom it first addressed itself were guilty of shutting their eyes deliberately to the truths that the 'signs' were making so clear.

Before we go on to consider these signs we must first take account of what the Qur'ān has to say about the faculties by which man is able to perceive them. That man can know God, can be made aware of Him and be brought to stand over against Him, was self-evident as far as the Qur'ān was concerned. These convictions formed the basis of its appeal to men just as Jesus based His appeal to men on the simple conviction that they were capable to responding to the call of God and of becoming what God meant them to become.

In the case of Jesus, however, He made His appeal to men because He was convinced that in His own Person God was disclosing Himself to men. In the Qur'ān, on the other hand, there has to be complete dependence on the word, spoken or written, which was con-



ceived to be the word of Allah, and on the appeal to natural phenomena. It is evident that Muhammed had no clear proof of his mission as a prophet apart from his own conviction that Allah had called him to the prophetic office. And this dependence on the part of the Qur'ān upon its own words and upon natural phenomena explains perhaps why it lays so much stress on the faculty of human reasoning. The possibility of Allah revealing Himself directly to man is rejected by the Qur'ān. Cf. e.g. 4.152. "The People of the Book will ask thee (Muhammed) to bring down for them a book from heaven; but they asked Moses a greater thing than that, for they said: 'Show us Allah openly.' But the thunderbolt caught them in their injustice." See also 7.139 and Cf Ex 33.18ff.

It is equally true that the Qur'ān knows nothing of a Divine self-disclosure through the medium of human personality on the stage of history. Loutfy Levonian in his book Studies in Islām and Christianity 77-79 reminds us that the basis of the Qur'anic teaching about God is, "There is nought like Him." So totally disparate are God and man that the possibility of any close personal relationship between them is precluded from the start. Such a position also obviates the possibility of a revelation of God in terms of an incarnation. This as we shall see later compelled the Qur'ān to conclude that the prophets and apostles had to authenticate both their claim to be called of God and to be the recipients of a revelation from God by means of miracles. It was this too that gave rise to the conviction in Islām that the Qur'ān was a revelation of God to man and, therefore, took precedence even over the Prophet. See again Levonian 89-90. The references in the Qur'ān to the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation make it clear that as far as it was concerned there was no possibility of a self-disclosure of God in terms of human personality; hence, as

we shall now see, the over-riding concern of the Qur'ān with human reason and the faculties with which man ordinarily wins through to insights beyond the usual levels of human knowledge.

It is true that in spite of the severe limitations to which the Qur'ān was subject it did sometimes succeed in bringing men to an acute awareness of the Presence of God, making them feel that they were standing over against God. In 39.46 it describes how some men experience disturbing emotions when Allah is mentioned. Apparently in such moments, when they felt that they were being confronted by Allah, fear of a coming judgment distressed them profoundly, though such occasions were rare.

Generally speaking the Qur'ān found it hard to break through the centuries' old barriers of idolatry and ignorance and apathy in an attempt to appeal to, and win a response from, the reasoning faculties in man. That the Qur'ān did expect to arouse a response in the minds of its hearers is self-evident; that expectation alone makes sense of its amazing persistence when confronted by a seemingly hopeless task. It conceived that the faculties which enable man to respond to the phenomena of his physical environment were gifts received directly from Allah. E.g. the senses of hearing and seeing were from God. In 10.32 the Qur'ān asks, "Who has dominion over hearing and sight?" evidently expecting the answer, God. In 23.80 it is said that it was God "who produced (ansha') hearing and sight." See also 32.8, 46.25, 67.23, 76.2 where a similar thought is expressed. And in 3.11 we have reference to the incident at Badr when one of the contending parties saw "twice the same number as themselves to the eye-sight"; which vision is said to have come from God. Clearly the Qur'ān fully anticipated that through these two divinely created media, hearing and sight, an entrance could be gained to the mind whose

function it was to interpret what the eye saw and the ear heard, and ultimately to the citadel of the heart.

This becomes clearer when it is remembered that often in the Qur'ān to hear means also to understand, to know. In some contexts to hear may even mean to accept or obey, the hearing being sometimes equivalent to the formulation of a judgment. The phrase umm as-sama' means the brain. And one often meets with the words sam' wata'ah where hearing and obeying are placed in juxtaposition. Similarly the root basar means much more than seeing with the eyes. It carries with it mental perception leading to belief, knowledge, understanding etc. In the 2nd form the root often means not only to cause to see but to make someone to know, understand, to render something plainly apparent, conspicuous, manifest. And so the substantive may mean much more than sight. It may indicate an idea, an opinion occurring to the mind. In 6.104, 7.202, 45.19 basā'ir means manifest proofs or demonstrations. See also 3.11 where what is seen with the physical eye ('ayn) is said to be a warning, an example, a lesson ('ibrah) to those who are endowed with perception (ulā' l-absār). This makes plain the Qur'ān's confidence in the media of sight and hearing as avenues along which the ideas expressed in its teaching might travel to the mind and eventually win the response for which it strove so hard.

It is striking too that in 23.80 (Cf. also 32.8, 46.25, 67.23) the word af'idah occurs with the terms for sight and hearing which would suggest that as far as the Qur'ān was concerned there was established a close connection between hearing and sight and mind. The root from which af'idah comes means to strike, affect, hurt, and even to toast, bake or roast. Tawaffad is used of fuel which burns fiercely, and came to be used to describe the heart in a state of excitement, just as taharrak came to be used of the heart in a



state of profound emotion. Thus the substantive fu'ad means heart (also liver or lungs) and, by extension, mind or intellect. In a well known passage in surah 53 it is said that the heart (af'idah) did not contradict (or falsify) what Muhammed saw.

But the Qur'an is only too acutely aware of the limitations of the two divinely bestowed faculties of seeing and hearing where insights into the character and activity of God are concerned. Cf. e.g. 6.103 where it is said that "sight reacheth Him (Allah) not but He is able to reach the sight." Obviously physical sight is implied here, but where the mental and spiritual faculties are incapable of interpreting aright what the physical eye perceives the latter is not merely a limited or faulty medium by which God may be apprehended, it is completely incapable. And where this is the case the Qur'an unhesitatingly makes Allah responsible for producing this blindness and deafness, though 25.73 seems to imply a deafness and a blindness that are deliberate and wilful.

In 31.6 pride is said to be a cause of deafness. In 30.51f it is said that only believers can hear what God is trying to say to man, which implies that unbelief may also be a cause of deafness (cf. also 41.44). In 27.83 the cause of deafness is the act of turning back from the way of Islām, deliberate disobedience to the call of God. And where the Qur'an has in mind those who are blind to God's signs it makes it clear that it cannot guide them 27.83, nor can it cause the deaf to hear 43.39. Indeed the unbelievers may even have the Qur'an read to them but it is all of no avail because God has placed veils (akinnah) over their hearts (qulūb) and deafness or dullness (wagr) in their ears with the result that they cannot understand what is being read to them 17.47.

The striking thing was that the unbelievers were aware of this veil upon their hearts and the deafness in their ears and they told Muhammed so, 41.4. And as in 17.47 so here, they are con-

scious that a veil has been placed between themselves and the reader of the Qur'ān. In both cases a different word is used for the veil between the reader and his audiences. The word is hijāb not kinn, which refers more specifically to something that intervenes, a partition or barrier (Lane). Cf. also 2 Cr 3.13-16 where Paul uses the same symbolic language to describe the inability of the Jewish mind to see that their Old Testament Scriptures foreshadowed the coming of Jesus the Christian Messiah. In 45.22 the ideas are similar but here it is said that Allah has sealed up (khatam) the hearing and the heart and has, in addition, placed a veil (ghishāwah) over the eye-sight.

Now it is manifest from all these references that what the Qur'ān has in view is mental or spiritual blindness and deafness, the inability to interpret aright what the physical eye sees and the ear hears. That this is unquestionably the case is proved by the references made to the organ by which man interprets and reasons, namely the heart. Cf. e.g. 7.178 where those who have unseeing eyes and unhearing ears are said to have hearts with which they discern not and are, in consequence, like unthinking cattle. Again in 16.110 inability to hear and see is said to be due to Allah's setting a seal upon these faculties, a seal which has been set upon the heart. In 47.25 it is said that blindness and deafness are due to the curse of God and to His having put a lock upon the heart. Clearly there is conceived to be a close connection between the physical senses of seeing and hearing and the ability to perceive with the heart, and that where the latter is not present the former are useless when it is a question of understanding and interpreting the reports which come to man concerning the world in which he lives.

The Qur'ān has not a great deal to say about this spiritual

faculty which enables a man to interpret aright what he sees and hears. It would appear that as far as this faculty means ability to understand the signs of God it is non-existent in the unbeliever 3051, 41.44. It is pride 31.6, subjection to fleshly appetites 45.22, contradicting God's signs 46.25, refusal to obey the call of Allah 27.83 that render this faculty useless. Of course, when it is a question of ordinary mental faculties no such differentiation is made between believer and unbeliever. Knowledge ('ilm) and judgment (hikmah) may be said to be the possession of every man in varying degrees, though the Qur'ān implies that these are endowments of God 27.15, 28.13, 31.11. In 46.22 we are told that 'ilm is only with Allah. Even the plan that the mother of Moses put into operation to save her son is said to be the result of a divine inspiration. Special mental endowments such as the ability to interpret dreams and sayings (ahādīth) come from God.

But when the Qur'ān has in view the ability to see and interpret aright God's signs in nature, history and the 'Books' it does not hesitate to assert that it is the exclusive possession of believers. In this narrower sense they alone can claim to be "endowed with minds" (3.5, 187. 5.100, 13.19, 39.19, 22. 40.56, 65.10.) It is this concept which perhaps gives a clue to an understanding of another rather obscure phrase, "setting the mind aright" 47.2, 6. In both cases it is said to be the work of Allah and is performed only in the experience of believers. The verb islah means to set a thing aright, to repair or reform, while the noun bāl may be used, inter alia, of heart or mind. The phrase, therefore, implies that a former state of mind had to be rectified and reminds us again of the Qur'anic claim that all unbelievers labour under a disability which renders them incapable of recognising and interpreting aright the signs of God. But on becoming a believer



the faculty is given to a man by God and he can from that moment be said to be "endowed with mind". Another phrase which doubtless has a much more restricted application but which has a similar connotation is found in 4.160 which refers to those who are well grounded or deeply versed in knowledge (rāsikh fī 'l-<sup>'</sup>ilm).

We seem forced, then, to conclude that this faculty which we have been discussing is endowed by Allah and that if He chooses He may withhold it from a man. We are reminded at this point of the claim of the Gnostic to some kind of esoteric knowledge which belonged only to the initiate, the same kind of knowledge as the Qur'ān claims exclusively for the believer. By gnosis the Gnostic did not mean knowledge gained by the use of the intellect, it was knowledge that was given in a special revelation. In their conflict with the New Testament Christians the Gnostics claimed to possess not greater intellectual power but a fuller and a better revelation. They took no special credit for it, it had been handed down to them. Its author was Christ or one of the Apostles or one of their friends. Sometimes the Gnostics appealed to a secret tradition imparted to a small group of initiated men by Jesus Himself.

Now the Qur'ān may be said to have some affinity with the Gnostic tradition as that is expressed in the foregoing terms. This 'ilm is not something that is in man in embryonic form at birth and which may be developed with the passage of time. It is essentially something that is given, and given only to believers. This is certainly the case when it is a question of interpreting the Qur'ān 3.5. There is a sense in which all men may be said to have 'ilm in varying degrees but it is Allah's prerogative to give hikm. And that hikm is the possession of the 'righteous' is implied in 26.83 where Abraham prays for it

in order to be able to join the ranks of the righteous; though here hikm may be rather 'the right to judge' or 'jurisdiction' not wisdom or knowledge. In 43.63 it is said of Jesus that He brought hikm, and 3.158 tells us that the Apostle teaches both it and the 'book'. 4.106 seems to imply that hikm was given to the Apostle. In his forthcoming book Introduction to the Qur'ān Dr Bell points out that during the Medinan period Muhammed's function as a messenger was "to recite the signs, to purify, and to teach the Book and the wisdom" 2.146, 3.158, 62.2. By comparing the hikmah given to Luqman 31.11ff and to Muhammed himself 17.41, Dr Bell suggests that the wisdom which the Apostle taught, since it was associated with the Book or revealed truth, is thought of in terms of the right conduct of life and is a development of the ordinary sense of wisdom, particularly with regard to conduct. In Dr Bell's opinion this is in line with the use of hikm which clearly means the power of judging conduct or of laying down laws for the conduct of life 152-153.

It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that the Qur'ān insists that hikm is the gift of Allah. The primary meaning of the root is to prevent, restrain, withhold, so that hikm refers to that which prevents or restrains from ignorant behaviour. Later it came to mean the faculty of doing excellent deeds, attaining to that which is true, a knowledge of excellent things, the management of one's soul and temper on occasion of anger; hence obedience to God, reverential fear, reflection upon what God has commanded and acting accordingly (Lane). Such knowledge can come only from God. It is His prerogative to give or to withhold it. It was such knowledge that the Prophets and Apostles were given and commanded to impart to those who had the hearing ear, the ready mind.

It seems then that in the case of the unbeliever ability to recognise and interpret God's signs is impossible. He cannot re-

cognise evidences of God in nature or in history, and the Qur'ān is a closed book to him. Signs of Allah's Presence and activity are there in plenty in the natural order but the eyes of the unbeliever are 'holden' that they cannot see, his ears are 'heavy' that they cannot hear. His reasoning faculties are atrophied as far as apprehending God is concerned. Man's unaided mental faculties can neither read nor interpret these signs; they are for him a complicated system of hieroglyphic writing which, because he has mislaid the key, he is unable to decipher. the 'sign' (i.e.)

Now this implied view is the complete antithesis of Paul's position as that is stated in Rom.1 where it is said that all men have a knowledge of God vv.18-20, though like Muhammed Paul believed that such knowledge of the "invisible God" might be lost through neglect or disobedience Rom.1.21. We are reminded also of the Logos doctrine of the Fourth Gospel which teaches that the Logos is "the true light that lighteneth every man coming into the world" 1.9. unbelieving peoples of ancient times 15.75. The de-

The reason why the Qur'ān was forced to come to the conclusion that has been outlined is fairly obvious. The men to whom it addressed itself were apparently incapable of understanding its reading of the wonders of the natural order or the events in history. What was written in such large letters as far as the Qur'ān was concerned was for them a closed book; and the only reasonable explanation of such a mystery was that Allah had thrown a veil over their minds thus making it impossible for them to read His signs in the world around. This was a realm that even a prophet could not invade since all his preaching and arguing and expostulating were utterly useless to bring even a faint ray of light into darkened minds. Many preachers and seers and poets have found themselves forced to the same conclusion both before



and after the Prophet of Arabia.

Now that we have examined what the Qur'ān has to say about man's ability to read God's signs we must now go on to glance briefly at the signs themselves. First of all we have to ask what was meant by 'sign'? The word used is āyah and means the sign or indication of the presence of something else as an indication of God's power or His intervention or as an attestation of a message or messenger. This is also the meaning of the Greek semeion (signum) as it is used in the Fourth Gospel. There the value of the 'sign' (i.e. miracle) is seen to be in its revealing quality, its power to manifest the works of God and the glory of Jesus. In the case of Jesus His works were said to be 'signs' because it was claimed that they were part of His whole revelation of God.

In the Qur'ān the word āyah is applied to the wonders of nature as attesting God's existence, His power and bounty. It is also used of stories of earlier prophets and apostles and the judgments that befell unbelieving peoples of ancient times 15.75. The deliverance of believers, on the other hand, was also a 'sign' 29.13. There are signs in the Qur'anic account of Joseph. The events in the lives of Jesus and Mary were also signs 21.91. A few messengers (e.g. Ṣāliḥ 7.71, 11.67, Jesus 3.43, and Moses 20.18ff., 27.12) were able to produce signs of a spectacular nature in order to authenticate the truth of their message. It is well known that the Meccan opponents demanded similar signs from Muḥammed as proof of the credibility of his message, a demand that caused him serious difficulty 6.37, 13.8, 21.5. Since miracles were withheld in Muḥammed's case he offered revelations as a substitute, he himself being convinced of the divine origin of these revelations 6.158, 7.202, 20.133, 29.49f. In order to convince his contemporaries that these revelations were authentic signs he pointed to the

phenomena which accompanied their coming 6.57, 11.20, 47.15; and to the agreement between his teaching and the contents of the Scriptures of the Jews, an agreement that was acknowledged by the Jews themselves 20.133, 26.197. Since these were Muhammed's only convincing miracles they were called ayāt. We notice, therefore, something in the nature of a development in the meaning of ayah. First it meant signs of God's existence, power and bounty manifested in the wonders of the natural order and of His interventions in history, then it came to signify religious truths revealed to Muhammed and the messengers who had preceded him, and finally to Muhammed's actual pronouncements, the terms in which his teaching was given.

We shall have occasion to deal with the existing situation in the time of Muhammed in a later chapter but it ought to be pointed out now that the signs brought by Muhammed were never intended to prove God's existence. Belief in Allah is everywhere assumed by the Qur'ān; and in his Introduction to the Qur'ān, Dr. Bell suggests that the various enumerations of the signs of Allah's beneficent power, far from being treated as attempts to prove the existence of God on the part of the Qur'ān were rather attempts to awaken in the hearts of those to whom it spoke gratitude to God 16.14, 30.45, 36.73, a desire to worship Him 6.102, 10.3, a willingness to recognise the impotence of idols and the might of God 16.10ff., and the conviction that such a God could and would raise the dead 22.5 and judge evildoers. The ayāt enumerated in the Qur'ān give us an instructive glimpse into Muhammed's ideas and consciousness and suggest that his starting point was not the conviction that judgment was about to overtake mankind but the conception of an exalted, powerful but beneficent God; and it was to set forth the power and beneficence of Allah that the Qur'ān enu-

merated the signs. Their original significance is not to be sought in the ideas of resurrection and judgment.

It has already been pointed out that the men of Muhammed's generation expected him to produce signs which would authenticate his call in their eyes 15.6f., 10.16, 29.49. These references, especially the last two, reveal the embarrassment which such a demand occasioned Muhammed. In 17.61 we are told that Allah could have sent signs by the hand of Muhammed but did not because it was known beforehand that his generation would have counted them "lies" just as men of former generations had done. We are left with the impression that had Muhammed been able to do so he would gladly have produced a sign in order to authenticate himself and his claims before his fellows. It is interesting to compare this attitude with that of Jesus who, when asked to supply some specific sign, refused though conscious of the ability to do so Mk 8.11-13.

Apart from the Qur'ān the Prophet pointed to natural phenomena as signs of God's Presence and activity among men. He pointed to the creation of the heaven and the earth, the creation of man, the alternation of night and day, the existence of the beasts of the earth, the provision made for man, the productive power of the earth and the changing winds 45.2-5. Again, there was God's control of the sea 45.11-12, and the phenomena of rain, fruit, cattle, bird life, human birth, man's home, his clothing 16.67ff., the affection between men, the diversity of tongues and colours, the phenomenon of sleep, the stability of heaven and earth 30.18-24, the sun and the moon by which the years are reckoned 10.5-6.

In addition the Qur'ān points to history as a source of signs. There was e.g. the story of the encounter between Moses and Pharaoh 27.10-14, 43.45. Joseph is said to have brought signs 40.36, and Jesus and His mother were signs in virtue of the events



associated with them 23.52, 21.91. Noah's deliverance and the destruction of his generation were also evident signs 25.39, 29.13f. The destruction of peoples who persecuted the prophets 27.53, the story of the seven sleepers in the cave 18.8, Lot's deliverance and Sodom's destruction 29.30-34, the table sent down from heaven in response to the demand for it by the apostles of Jesus 5.112f., were also signs from God.

But whatever the signs they were under Allah's control. They were given or withheld by His will and were the result of His activity 6.109ff. But as Pharaoh rejected the evident signs brought to him by Moses 27.13f., so the signs appealed to by the Qur'ān for the generation to whom it was given were rejected by the men of that day. But that act of refusal was only an evident token of an already existing state of unbelief in the heart since only unbelievers would have been capable of such an act 40.4, 29.46, 10.101, although satanic influences were held to be partly responsible for this rejection 43.62. But the fundamental reason for this refusal to read and understand these clear tokens of the power and activity and beneficence of Allah was unbelief, and until that had been dealt with and belief in the signs established, there was no hope of ever making the deaf hear God's call or causing the blind to see the way along which lay the apprehension of truth and safety from an impending doom 27.82-88.

5.109, 16.2, 104, 26.193, 70.4, 97.4, 10.17, or to Jesus who is called to the spirit of God 4.169, 21.91, 66.12. But while ruh in these references cannot possibly be interpreted in terms of an integral part of the human personality they make clear that the ruh exercises an influence upon man and teach that it is the principal task of the ruh to enter into relationships with man and impart to him certain qualities and do certain things for him which

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE MEDIA OF MAN'S RESPONSE

#### (B) TO GOD

It will have become clear from the foregoing section that the conceived that man is so constituted that he is capable of making a response to God and of knowing when God is entering into relationships with him. The question to be discussed now is, What are the elements in the human personality which enable man to make such a response? These appear to be three in number, namely the spirit, the soul and the heart. We shall consider each of these in turn in the light of what the Qur'ān has to say about them.

#### THE SPIRIT (RŪH) OF MAN.

As an integral part of human nature the Qur'ān has singularly little to say about the spirit. There appear to be some twenty passages where the word rūh occurs but it has to be pointed out that the majority of these references have no relevance to our present inquiry since they, in the opinion of all Muslim, though not all Western, commentators refer to the angel Gabriel 2.81, 254, 5.109, 16.2, 104, 26.193, 70.4, 97.4, 19.17, or to Jesus who is called to the spirit of God 4.169, 21.91, 66.12. But while rūh in these references cannot possibly be interpreted in terms of an integral part of the human personality they make clear that the rūh exercises an influence upon man and teach that it is the principal task of the rūh to enter into relationships with man and impart to him certain qualities and do certain things for him which

would be otherwise impossible. *the Qur'an does not say so explicitly*

E.g. the rūh came down upon certain messengers to enable them to warn their generation 16.2, 40.15, it confirmed the believers 16.104, 58.22, and brought down revelations to Muhammed 26.192f., 42.52. In the course of the article on rūh the Encyclopaedia of Islām remarks that in four passages the Qur'ān connects rūh with the Amr of Allah. The contexts show that in 17.87 rūh is connected with knowledge, in 16.2 with angels and creatures to give warning, in 40.15 only with creatures to give warning, and in 42.52 with Muhammed for knowledge, faith, light and guidance. So that in these four verses rūh has special significance for the equipment that Allah bestowed upon those of His servants who had been appointed to the prophetic office. Cf. also Exod 35.30f. Clearly it is the task of the spirit to enter into relations with the prophets in particular and believers in general in order to impart revelations to them, to aid and guide them. *between the signs*

In a special way the rūh al-qudus is said to have strengthened or aided Jesus 2.81, 254. In 5.109 this activity of the rūh is described as "grace" (ni'mah) on the part of Allah. The spirit's activity in the case of Mary was for the special purpose of producing conception in her without human intervention. In this connection it is interesting to notice that the term rūh is also applied to the spirit of Jesus who is known as the spirit of Allah 4.169. In 21.91, 66.12 the spirit was "breathed" into Mary but the rūh was not imparted to her in the sense that it became part of her personality. The spirit came upon her for the sole purpose of causing her to conceive apart from the ordinary means of conception. *Adam. After he had been fashioned the Lord breathed*

But although the rūh did not become an integral part of Mary's personality it does seem to have remained a permanent part of the



being of Jesus, and although the Qur'ān does not say so explicitly yet by virtue of the great stress upon the activity of the rūh in the conception of Jesus it may be taken to imply that it was through the rūh that Jesus worked His miracles. Certain it is that the Qur'an emphasizes the operation of the spirit in the experience of Jesus to a degree that is unknown in the lives of other men. The Qur'ān conceived that in the experience of Jesus the power to perform miracles and the authority implicit in that power were present to an unprecedented degree. *are told that Allah "taught him all*

Unfortunately we are given no insight into the psychological aspect of the presence of the rūh in the personality of Jesus but we are justified in connecting the activity of the spirit in His miraculous conception with the wide range of miraculous powers which He exercised 3.43-46, 5.109-115 since the Qur'ān emphasizes these two aspects of Jesus' experience to such an extraordinary degree. Indeed in three verses the connection between the 'signs' manifested in Jesus and the 'aid' that came to Him through the rūh al-qudus may be said to be explicit. In 2.81,254 we read, "We gave Jesus son of Mary the evidences and aided him by the holy spirit", while in 5.109 Allah is reported as saying to Jesus, ".... I supported thee by the holy spirit in speaking to the people in the cradle and as grown man." But as already remarked this phenomenon is peculiar to Jesus and cannot really be used to throw very much light on the Qur'anic doctrine of man except to say that man is so constituted that he may become the recipient of the rūh from God. *It is only the 'regenerate' man, regenerate in virtue of*

That such is the case is made clear also from the Qur'anic references to Adam. After he had been fashioned the Lord breathed into him His spirit 15.29, 32.8, 38.72. In the first and third of these references it seems to be the uncreated spirit of God

that is referred to. But what this divine operation resulted in is not quite clear except that it was the inbreathing of the rūh<sup>h</sup> that made Adam live and which gave him hearing, sight and heart. Before this he was apparently conceived to be a lifeless form. One of the wonderful manifestations resulting from the communication of the rūh Allah in the experience of Adam was the gift and exercise of supernatural knowledge. In 2.28ff. where Allah announces to the angels that He is about to place a vice-gerent (i.e. Adam) in the earth we are told that Allah "taught him all the names." When the angels were asked to tell Allah the names they confessed that they had no knowledge of such things, whereupon Adam was commanded to announce the names. And it was only after this demonstration of Adam's superiority over the angels in regard to knowledge that they were commanded to do obeisance to him; which they did, with the exception of Iblīs 15.29. In the experience of Jesus son of Mary, as we have already noticed, the results of the communication of the rūh were much more spectacular.

From this survey of the Qur'anic references to the rūh it becomes fairly certain that whatever else the term signifies in the Qur'ān it does not refer to angels in general, nor to the self or man as person, nor to the spirit or soul of man as these terms are understood among Westerners to-day. Nowhere does the Qur'ān teach that man is a tripartite being consisting of spirit, soul and body as Paul does, e.g. in 1Th 5.23, though even he seems to hold that it is only the 'regenerate' man, regenerate in virtue of his having received the Spirit of God, who possesses a spirit, and has, therefore, a tripartite nature.

In Al-Ghazzālī (Cf. Ihyā 1.458ff., and The Religious Attitude and Life in Islām 230f.) there may be said to be an approximation

to the idea of a tripartite nature in man. He connects the rūh with the qalb. The latter is the rational soul, the former is the inner part of the qalb and the rational soul is its vehicle. The rūh comes into existence when Allah inbreathes it into the embryo fitted to receive it. In this act of pouring the rūh into the embryo, however, all idea of separation from the divine nature is resolutely put aside. Just as the light of the sun cannot be thought of as being an entity in separation from its source so the rūh in man is never to be conceived as being an entity in itself existing in separation from Allah.

In the Dictionary of Technical Terms by At-Tahānawī, 547 of Sprenger's edition, which contains extracts of Al-Ghazzālī's doctrine of man's rūh and nafs he (Al-Ghazzālī) defines man as a spiritual substance, not confined in a body, nor imprinted on it, nor joined to it, nor separated from it. It possesses knowledge and perception and is, therefore not an accident. In his ar-Risāla 'l-Laduniya 7-14 Al-Ghazzālī explains nafs, rūh and qalb. They are names for the simple spiritual substance that is the seat of the intellectual processes. He identifies the incorporeal rūh with an-nafs al-mutma'inna and the rūh al-amrī of the Qur'an. He also uses nafs for the "flesh" or lower nature which has to be disciplined in the interests of ethics.

In this connection it may be worth noting that the Sufis conceived that man, by the divine inbreathing, received a divine soul which brought with it the capacity to perceive and receive any self-manifestation that God was pleased to vouchsafe. In such moments of high extasy the spirit supersedes the physical; and it is by virtue of this spiritual substance which is put into a man's body, a substance which is of the essence of God and yet is never made an integral and necessary part of man, that God is able to



reveal Himself to the receptive spirit. But the mystics emphasize strongly that the rūh in man is neither separated from God nor joined to man, so that in reality God manifests Himself only to Himself. It is true that these mystical conceptions are far removed from the meagre and necessarily inadequate teaching of the Qur'ān regarding the spirit of God in man, but it is clear that the developed doctrine has its basis very firmly in the Qur'ān itself and has, therefore, to be noticed in any attempt to state the Qur'anic doctrine of man.

But to return to the consideration of rūh in the Qur'ān. In his Studies in the Relationship between Islām and Christianity 36, Lootfy Levonian reminds us that rūh is not a genuine Arabic word. It is a loan word from Hebrew. In its use of the term the Old Testament imparts to it quite a wide and varied significance and seems to consider it to represent an integral part of the personality, especially in its use of 'spirit' to express temper and disposition in man. It also imparts to it the connotation moral character, and refers to it as being the seat of the emotions, the organ of mental acts; See article Rūakh in the Oxford Hebrew and English Lexicon. In the Qur'ān, on the other hand, rūh never means soul or human spirit though it has come to have that meaning in later Islamic theology. In reply to a question regarding the rūh the Qur'ān says, "The spirit proceedeth at thy Lord's command; but of its knowledge only a little to you is given" 17.87. This well expresses the sense of mystery that attached to the concept of spirit.

The Qur'ān, in common with the Old Testament, conceives that rūh has no purely spiritual connotation. On this point Levonian writes in the clearest of terms: "This then must be recognised as the fundamental position of Islām about rūh- spirit is corporeal,

or in Western Christian terms: according to the teaching of orthodox Islām spirit is non-spiritual," p.36. Later theologians were unable to effect any change in this fundamental conviction. Even Al-Ghazzālī did not wholly succeed in winning through to the conception of the spirituality of rūh though it is true to say that through him the Aristotelian principle of the incorporeal nature of spirit found a permanent place in Islamic doctrine to a limited extent at least.

We may consider that in the case of Adam the inbreathing of the rūh was that which imparted the nafs to him, that which made of Adam a self which is what nafs means essentially. So that the rūh is not to be thought of as something that is distinct from the nafs or soul, it is rather the life principle which is to be identified with the nafs. The creation story in the Old Testament does not differentiate between the two in man. It was simply by virtue of the inbreathing by the Creator of the breath of life that man became a living soul. This idea of vital principle which attaches to the term rūh is in the Qur'an well illustrated in 16.2, 40.15 where the word clearly means inspiration or divine revelation. It is so-called because it, if one may so speak, resurrects man from the death in which infidels sleep and thus in the spiritual sense becomes a vital principle as it is in fact in the physical. In this sense the Qur'ān may be said to be a rūh because it quickens men and guides them into the right way.

But although rūh and nafs may be said to be synonymous yet they are not always so. "There is a difference between these two words, for they are not always interchangeable" (Lane). In 11.6ff., attention was drawn to the fact that in sleep Allah takes away the soul, but the rūh may be said to remain because

clearly one is still alive although the faculties and powers of the body are in a state of abeyance. The rūh is taken away only at death. That nafs and rūh are not interchangeable is clear also from two passages in the Qur'ān which already have been cited, 15.29, 38.72, where it is said that it was the rūh that was breathed into Adam. To have spoken of the inbreathing of the nafs would have been a manifest incongruity, just as in 58.9 the expression, "and they say in their 'anfus'" could not possibly be changed to, "and they say in their 'arwāh'". Again it is clear that one cannot say, "an taqūl rūh" but "an taqūl nafs". The phrase, "ta'lam mā fī rūhī" could not be substituted for, "ta'lam mā fī nafsī" 5.116. Hence the two words are not synonymous nor are they at all times interchangeable. Nafs means essentially 'self' while rūh signifies 'spirit'. The meaning of chest or breast to that of anxieties, the bosom and the emotions connected therewith is too obvious to re-

#### THE HEART (QALB, SADR, FŪ'AD) OF MAN.

The Qur'ān when speaking of the heart uses three terms- qalb, sadr and fū'ad. We set them down in that order because it represents where the emphasis lies as far as the Qur'ān is concerned.

These three terms will be treated separately presently but a few general remarks seem to be desirable in order to introduce the discussion. The word qalb seems primarily to refer to the physical organ (it may even be used of the stomach 2.87) the heart and, as in English, has come to signify the mind, intelligence, secret thoughts only in a secondary sense. According to Lane it may even mean the soul. Because of its signifying primarily the physical organ of the heart it is not surprising to learn that it is synonymous with fū'ad, the latter having strict reference to the physical organ. Some Arab authorities take fū'ad to mean the liver and/or the lungs, others the pericardium.



It is understandable therefore if sometimes no very clear distinction is made by Arab writers between qalb and fū'ād, using both to mean 'heart' in a general way, though from the point of view of the strictly physical aspects the distinction between the two terms is fundamental. And, of course, as has happened in the case of qalb, fū'ād has come to mean mind, intellect, quickwittedness, acuteness of insight or mental perception.

In common with qalb and fū'ād the term sadr has also a physical significance in its primary sense. Since it means that which confronts or faces one it is easy to see how sadr came to signify the breast or chest. It may also be used of objects, and in that case it indicates the forepart of anything. Lane e.g. notes that it may even be used of the forepart of a spear. And the step from giving to sadr the meaning of chest or breast to that of anxieties, the bosom and the emotions connected therewith is too obvious to require explanation.

Naturally, of course, the Qur'ān loses sight of the primary physical sense of these three terms and emphasizes their psychological content. In the Qur'ān qalb does not connote 'heart of flesh' but rather a transcendental spiritual subtlety connected with the physical organ. To all intents and purposes it has reference to the essential man, the part which sees and knows. Strictly speaking the perplexing question regarding the connection between the heart as the real essence of man and the physical heart does not arise in the Qur'ān because being an intensely practical book it is concerned with the practice of life and is, therefore, concerned with the qualities of the qalb not with its essence.

It is that aspect that we must consider when we turn to study the terms qalb, sadr and fū'ād because essentially they represent

that part of the mental and emotional equipment with which man has been endowed by God by virtue of which he is able to make his response to God and God is able to enter into relations with him. Behind each of these three terms there is the idea of the knowing and perceiving subtlety in the ego. It is called the heart because that is its seat though it rules the body just as the 'seat' of God is on His 'throne' in heaven while He rules the universe. A consideration of the nature of 'heart' and the various responses of which it is capable to the approaches which God makes to it reveals that in Muslim psychology the term "suggests the inmost, the most secret and genuine thoughts, the very basis of man's intellectual nature." (D.B. Macdonald: The Religious Attitude and Life in Islām, 221f.). The heart receives through the sensory faculties and the world of sense perception ideas and concepts of the essence and attributes of God which it passes on to the inner faculties, faculties which enable a man to think, remember, estimate and apprehend. It is, therefore, the heart alone that comprehends God by knowledge and contemplation.

One further point before passing to a more detailed study of the three terms now under review. It should perhaps be noticed that they are not always or in all circumstances interchangeable. This is clear from one or two verses in which two of the three words appear together and yet are distinguished from each other. E.g. in 28.9 fū'ād and qalb are in juxtaposition: "The fū'ād of Moses' mother became a blank (through fear), and almost had she disclosed him (Moses) but that we bound up her qalb ....." Again, in 42.23, 3.148, 22.45, 59.14 sadr and qalb are brought together. The distinction seems to be quite definite in 3.148 where we read, ".....that Allah may try what is in your sudūr and test what is in your qulūb, for Allah knows the innermost part of the sudūr."

22.45 is even more striking: "....blind are the qulūb that are within the sudūr." But let us now take each of the three terms qalb, sadr and fū'ād, in turn and see what the Qur'ān has to say about the nature and function of each.

### THE QALB.

The Qur'ān conceives that the qalb is the seat of the intellectual life. In 7.178 (cf. also 22.45) the Qur'ān complains of people who have 'hearts' but do not discern (yafqahūn) therewith. Clearly qalb here means mind or intelligence, the faculty of understanding. The Qur'ān's explanation of this lack of intelligence is that Allah has placed a 'stamp' upon such hearts 7.98f., 9.88, 94.<sup>1</sup> The verb used is taba', and in almost every case the subject is Allah. The objects are the kāfirīn, the mu'tadīn (transgressors), the qalb that is mutakabbir jabbār, those who have believed and then disbelieved. And the result of this divine act is that those concerned cannot hear, understand or know; in some cases "they follow their own lusts." And God's stamp is not only upon the qalb but upon the hearing and the sight as well.

Closely allied with this idea is the thought that God has placed some hearts under lock and key. In 47.26 we are told that 'aqfāl have been placed upon hearts. Another cognate expression is, He has placed seals upon qulūb 2.6, 6.46, 42.23, 45.22. The verb is khatam and again the subject is Allah, and all these references, with the exception of 42.23, indicate that the sealing of the heart is accompanied by loss of hearing and dimness of eye-sight. 45.22 tells us that the objects of this fell doom are those who take their lusts for their gods and adds that such are led astray by Allah unwittingly.

1. Cf. also 10.75, 16.110, 40.37, 47.18, 63.3.



Akin to this circle of ideas is the thought that Allah has placed a veil over the qalb, 6.25, 17.48, 18.55, 41.4. In every case the placing of the veil over the heart is accompanied by dullness of hearing. The word for veil is 'akinnah, and again it is clear that it is God who throws this fatal covering over the qalb resulting in inability to understand the message that was being delivered. It is interesting to note that in 41.4 those over whom God has cast a veil were conscious of the fact. "Our hearts (qulūb) are under (lit. in) a veil ('akinnah) from that to which thou callest us.....and between us and thee is a curtain (hijāb)...." In connection with this phenomenon 8.24 ought to be mentioned. There the Qur'ān tells us that God interposes (yahūl) between a man and his qalb, perhaps in order to read its deepest secrets treasured up therein and so to frustrate its wicked devices, or possibly to give man the gift of faith or lead him astray in the paths of error. ~~word, therefore,~~

In some cases the qal-b in the Qur'ān is described as being diseased <sup>1</sup> 2.9. It is well known that this phrase has reference to those among the Medinan Muslims who distrusted Muḥammed's policy and caused him a great deal of trouble by their disad<sup>ff</sup>ec-tion. It appears that these people <sup>to</sup> criticised the Qur'ān and made difficulties over the matter of abrogation. The first weapon they used against Muḥammed's growing authority was verbal argument. There are hints too that the opponents among the Medinan Muslims were friendly with the Jews, and tended to avoid bringing disputes to Muḥammed for settlement. Naturally too they would view the policy of raiding Meccan caravans and the slaying of unbelievers with grave misgiving, especially as the loyal Muslims became increasingly enthusiastic over these provocative expedi-

---

68  
1. 5.57, 8.51, 9.126, 22.52, 24.49, 33.12, 32, 60, 47, 22, 31, 74, 33.

ditions. These then were the people in whose hearts there was this insidious mard which, if not arrested, would become worse and worse.

Allah could make the diseased heart still more sick 2.9 and become a condition that only added a plague (rijs) to the already insidious sickness 9.126. The disease that worked such havoc in the heart seems to have been, generally speaking, deceit. In 2.9 the diseased in heart are described as liars. In 5.57 they waver between loyalty to Jews, Christians and Islām. 24.49 connects the sick in heart with doubters, who fear that Allah will deal unjustly with them. In 33.12 they fear that Allah and the Apostle will make only deceitful promises. There and in 33.60 they are bracketed with the "hypocrites". In 47.22 they are described as being faint unto death when fighting is mentioned, but in v.31 of the same surah it is remarked that Allah will bring forth the malice that is in their hearts. The mard, therefore, seems to have been a mixture of doubt, 'cowardice', mental reservation, hypocrisy, opportunism perhaps, and lip service. We can well appreciate how irksome such people would be to a man of decision and character such as Muhammed undoubtedly was, and how apt the Qur'anic phrase was when used with reference to the fatal flaw in their personality. Clearly the diseased in heart were not of the company of those upon whose hearts God had set His seal or stamp, or over which He had thrown a veil, or upon the door of whose heart He had placed a lock. They had the capacity to see the light and understand the message and read the signs but their loyalty was suspect.

In addition to these two kinds of qulub there was the believing heart. On such a heart Allah "has graven the faith", and He aids it with a spirit from Him 58.22. Such a qalb was "sound" (salīm)

111 b 14.

26.89, 37.82. It is a repentant (munib) heart 50.32, filled with reverential awe of God 8.2, 22.36, 23.62. It is a heart that is guided by the Lord 64.11, submissive 22.53, 57.15, tender 39.24, knit to the hearts of other believers by bonds of friendship 3.98. In it Allah has planted a love for the Faith and made it a seemly thing, at the same time making unbelief, iniquity and rebellion hateful to it 49.7.

But such a divine work never places the believing heart beyond the possibility of turning aside. 9.118 tells us that "the heart of a section of them (believers) had nearly swerved aside (yazigh), and in 2.283 we are told that if a believer indulges in dishonest practices in respect of testimony then "his heart is sinful" ('athim). It is because of these sinful tendencies in the qalb of the believer that God tests it to see if there be any wicked way in it 3.148 or any piety in it 49.3. The Lord also binds up or girds (yarbit) the believer's heart 18.13 to make it stout and steadfast, and "comforts" 3.122, 13.28 it, fills it with "kindness and compassion" 57.27, "quietens" it 2.262, 5.113, 8.10, 16.108 by sending down upon it His "sakinah", a spirit of secure repose and tranquility.

In contradistinction to these characteristics in the qalb that has received the gift of faith the unbelieving heart is blind and incapable of understanding 22.45. God has made it heedless 18.27. It is possessed of doubt and hesitation 9.45, given to denial 16.23, thoughtless 21.3, and is in a flood of error 23.65. It is hard 6.43, 22.52, perverse 3.5-6, and fierce 9.15, 48.26. Little wonder then that such a heart "shrinks with horror" at the mention of Allah's name 39.46, and will quake with terror on the Judgment Day 79.8. On that day the qalb of the unbeliever will be "upset" (yataqallab) 24.37 and will "quiver with emotion" 40.18. It is a



heart that Allah turns from the right way 9.128, and that which is made desirable to it on earth 48.12 is in reality sin and wickedness. What unbelievers "pile up" on earth settles upon their hearts 83.14 like some inescapable doom.

### THE SADR.

To a much less degree can it be said that the sadr is the seat of the will. It seems rather to be the centre of the emotional life where is experienced the strain and stress caused by the conflict of passions and feelings. The sadr may be filled with pride 40.58, but the ill-will and rancour that accompany pride can and will be by a divine work of grace eradicated 7.41, 15.47 in the believer's experience. The sadr may become possessed of a knowledge that enables one to recognise the signs of God 29.48. It may also experience fear 59.13. It is also the locus where mental images are formed 17.53. It is in the sadr that the whispers of the Whisperer are heard 114.4f. It may be invaded by a sense of need 40.80, 59.9. When its disappointments are resolved it is said to be healed 9.14 and into it Allah pours His healing balm as a remedy for doubt 10.58.

Since the sadr is the seat of the emotional life and not, as in the case of the qalb, of the will it is subjected to invasions of feeling which the Qur'ān describes in the following terms. It seems that man can conceal what is in the sadr much more easily than he can the thoughts of the qalb. Indeed in only two places does the Qur'ān speak of man covering up what is in the qalb, a concealment effected by the tongue, by saying other than what is in the heart 3.161, 48.11; though in 9.65 we read of the Hypocrites who adopt a cautious attitude (yahdharūn) concerning a surah lest it should bring to light what is in the qalb. But to a far greater extent is it easier to conceal what is in the sadr, at least

that is where the emphasis in the Qur'ān lies 40.20.<sup>1</sup> But although these references tell of the concealment of what is in the breast the Qur'ān underlines the further truth that Allah is well aware of what lies hidden there, He knows "the very recesses",

"the very secrets" of the sadr 3.148.<sup>2</sup> And the moment when what the sadr conceals is revealed is given an eschatological content in 100.10. It is because of God's intimate knowledge of the sadr that He puts it to the test 3.148 as He does the qalb 49.3.

And probably it is because of this burden of secrets that lies on the sadr and the effort required to preserve its secrets inviolate that it experiences an emotional strain that the qalb apparently rarely feels. And here, of course, we are really approaching the concept of conscience. The effort involved in hugging secrets and concealing them from the Lord is described as "folding up" (yathnūn) the sudūr 11.5. To allow unbelief to possess the heart was to enlarge or open (sharāh) the sadr 16.108. On the other hand when Moses prayed that his heart be disposed to obedience to the divine command to go to Pharaoh he asked that the Lord should "expand" his breast 20.26. And when a man was given faith the Qur'ān says that the Lord "opened" his sadr to Islām 39.23. And again, when the Prophet was about to be made the recipient of a revelation the same phrase is used, indicating perhaps an awareness of a stimulation of the emotions which is not noticed by the Qur'ān when the qalb is in view. When reference is made to the emotional strain that Moses experienced when commanded to withstand Pharaoh it is the sadr that is referred to which, in such a situation, is said to be contracted (yadīq).

1. 28.69, 64.4, 3.27, 27.76, 11.7.

2. 57.6, 5.10, 67.13, 39.10, 29.9, 31.22, 35.36, 8.45, 42.23.

The same phrase is used to describe Muḥammed's emotional state on hearing the idolaters discuss his message 15.97, and also his reaction to the urge to withhold from those to whom he preached part of what had been revealed to him 11.15. In 7.1 Muḥammed is commanded to permit no straitness (ḥaraj) is his sadr (meaning perhaps let there be no doubt in your heart) regarding what has been revealed to him. The two phrases, to open the sadr and to cause tightness or straitness, are brought together in 6.125 where the first is used to describe the action by which Allah expands the breast to Islām, and the second to His leading men astray. The same circle of ideas is used to describe people whose hearts prevent them from fighting 4.29. The phrase reads, ḥasirat sudūruhum, this verb being the word used to describe the contraction of the heart. But it is evident that the Qur'ān in its references to the sadr operates constantly with terms that are applicable more strictly to the emotions, to psychological experiences rather than to what we mean by the will and its determinative functions. Indeed in these areas of the Qur'ān we are being constantly reminded of the concept of conscience and the circle of ideas which are normally associated with that phenomenon in the life of man as a moral being.

#### THE FŪ'ĀD.

A study of the Qur'anic references to the fū'ād reveals a return to the realm of ideas associated with the qalb. Here one moves away from the emotional to re-establish contact with the perceptive, the deliberative and estimative faculties, to that area of the personality where decisions are made. In the Qur'ān the fū'ād is often mentioned in conjunction with hearing and sight, e.g. 17.38, which immediately suggests that the fū'ād has relevance to the conscious and deliberative acts that determine a man's attitude and



destiny. Like hearing and sight the fū'ād is a divinely appointed faculty 16.80, <sup>1</sup> a fact which ought to awaken a sense of gratitude towards the Creator but this happens only rarely. The reason why the fū'ād was bestowed upon man was that he might read with insight the signs of Allah and so be led into the right way, but for many people this rare gift is unavailing because they deliberately "gainsay the signs of Allah" 46.25. Such have their fū'ād and their eye-sight "overturned" by God 6.110. Their hearts are said to be a blank 14.44. It is the fū'ād of the unbeliever that is void of faith 6.113 and that will experience the "kindled fire of God" on the Judgment Day when the flames thereof rise above and overwhelm it. *Isa 21.4, etc.* In the Old Testament it is the

Far different is the position of the believer. The Qur'ān does not say that the fū'ād receives faith but, as in the case of the qalb, the fū'ād is the sphere where Allah operates within the believer. In the fū'ād the believer becomes conscious of yearnings towards others 14.40, and in his case also it may become a blank, momentarily incapable of functioning in certain directions, as in the experience of Moses' mother 28.9. *which express change of mind,*

From this brief survey of the Qur'anic teaching on the 'heart' it will have been readily recognised how closely its ideas in this field are allied with those of the Old Testament. It is true that in the latter only one word is used, lebāb (the shortened form, leb, is also common), but in its use of this one term the Old Testament operates with ideas that are identical with those found in the Qur'ān. *a proud heart Ps 101.5. The heart could be*

A study of the term lebāb in the Oxford Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament shows that in its use of lebāb the

1. 23.80, 32.8, 46.25, 67.23. *though it will be remembered that it*

*comes close to this idea when it operates with the term qalb. No*

Old Testament emphasizes the fact that for the Hebrews the heart was essentially the seat of the intellectual life, i.e. the mind. In Job 12.2 the phrase "I also have a mind" occurs, and in Deut 8.5, 23.14, 1Kg 2.44 where lebāb is used with the root yada to know, it means 'knowledge', while in Isa 10.7, Zech 7.10, 8.17 where it is used with khashab to think, lebāb signifies reflection or thinking.

And in keeping with the emotional content which the Qur'ān imparts to sadr the Old Testament refers to the heart as being the seat of the passions and emotions with special reference to joy e.g. Isa 30.29, and trouble e.g. 1Kg 8.38, including sorrow Ps. 13.3, dismay Isa 21.4, etc. In the Old Testament it is the heart that was "made merry", e.g. by wine Ps 104.15 and was, therefore, the seat of the appetites which, as the Lexicon points out, are usually connected with the nephesh.

And again, heart in the Old Testament has reference to the will as it expresses itself in decisions, inclinations, determinations, etc., which answers to the Qur'ān's use of galb and fu'ad. Cf. e.g. 1Sam 7.3, 1Kg 8.58, Deut 29.17 which express change of mind, setting the mind in a certain direction or towards an object of desire. There is one great difference between the Old Testament's use of 'heart' and the Qur'ān's; in the former it is used with special reference to the moral character, indeed this may be said to be one of the main features of the Old Testament's use of lebāb. It speaks of an upright heart Deut 9.5, a heart of integrity Gen 20.5f., a proud heart Ps 101.5. The heart could be deceitful Jer 14.14, perverse Prov 11.20, double Ps 12.3, etc. It seems that the Qur'ān does not conceive the 'heart' to have been the seat of the moral life though it will be remembered that it comes close to this idea when it operates with the term sadr. We

shall see that as far as the Qur'ān was concerned the nafs was the centre where the moral life was to be located.

Before passing to a consideration of the term nafs we should glance briefly at three references to the fu'ad of Muḥammed found in the Qur'ān. In 11.121 it is to be established or confirmed (thabbat) by the stories of the Apostles which suggests a tendency to doubt or waver in the heart of the Prophet. In 25.34 the fu'ad was to be established by the piecemeal nature of the revelations which finally constituted the Qur'ān, a verse that has reference to the announcement made by the men of Muḥammed's generation that they would not believe unless the whole Qur'ān were sent down *à la fois*. That it was found necessary to speak of establishing the heart of the

Prophet at this time bespeaks a measure of perturbation and anxiety in the fu'ad, an experience that one would tend to place in the sadr rather than in the fu'ad where operated the deliberative and estimative faculties.

And finally in 53.11, where the fu'ad of Muḥammed works in conjunction with what the eye saw. Clearly the Qur'ān wishes it to be understood that the Prophet was at this time conscious of seeing a vision. In the opinion of the commentators this was a vision of Gabriel but, as Dr Wm. Montgomery Watt points out, since surah 53 belongs to the Meccan period Gabriel is unlikely to have been the object seen in the vision because references to Gabriel are a characteristic feature of Medinan surahs. Possibly the Prophet had had a vision of Allah (but cf. 6.103) or he might have seen something that for him represented the glory of God. If the latter is true then the words "the fu'ad belies not what he (Muḥammed) saw" mean that it is with the fu'ad that man gains insight into the real significance of the representation. This interpretation, as Dr Watt makes clear, at once escapes the discrepancy between the passionate desires within "the wife of the prince" in whose house



ancy between the claim to having seen a vision of God and 6.103, and the difficulty which a vision of Gabriel in a Meccan surah would raise.

### THE SELF (NAFS) OF MAN.

As in English the Arabic word for soul, or the self, (nafs) has several connotations which differ widely from each other and these must now be examined as they occur in the Qur'ān.

The commonest use of the word nafs in the Qur'ān is to describe the personality, the whole man as a persona. The examples of this use of the word are too numerous to permit a complete list but the following verses will serve to illustrate it. E.g. when in 9.41 the faithful are urged to "fight strenuously with your wealth and your 'anfus'" the obvious meaning is that of 'persons'. Again in 5.28 Moses, when he was urging the Children of Israel to enter the Promised Land, is reported as saying, "I can control only myself (nafsi) and my brother." The word is also used of Adam in several verses where it is said that men were created from one nafs 4.1, 6.98, 7.189, 39.8, meaning from one individual or person.

Then the command not to commit homicide unless by legal execution or by the slaying of unbelievers in battle occurs in several places and in each the word nafs is used. Cf. e.g. 6.152, "....

and kill not the soul (person) which Allah hath forbidden save by right." See also 5.35, 25.68, 17.35. Again, the man whom

Moses killed in Egypt is referred to as a nafs but clearly the word has to be rendered 'person', e.g. 28.18,33. And in this connection 18.73 should be noted where we read, "And he (Moses) said, 'hast thou killed a pure person (nafs) without (his killing) a person (nafs)?'" Another famous instance is the use of nafs

to describe the person of Joseph whose comely person awake such passionate desires within "the wife of the prince" in whose house

he had come to reside. When Joseph complained to his master regarding the latter's wife he said, "She desired me for my nafs", meaning clearly 'my person'.

This use of the word nafs is even employed by Allah with reference to Himself. In 20.43 God, in addressing Moses, says, "I have chosen thee for Myself (nafsi)". Again, in 6.12 where, in answer to the question, "Whose is what is in the heavens and in the earth?" the Prophet is commanded to say, "God's who has imposed mercy on Himself (nafsih).". The same idea is expressed in v.54 of the same surah. This use of nafs to mean a person, a self, the complete personality could be multiplied many times but these representative examples will suffice to demonstrate that it occurs very frequently in the Qur'an concerning both Allah and mankind.

There is a sense in which the term nafs is used to describe the principle of life. In 2.150 we read, "We will surely prove you with something of fear and hunger and loss of wealth and 'anfus (lives) and fruits." And again, in 5.49 where the lex talionis is recorded in the Qur'anic version of life for a life is 'annafs bi'nnafs'; and in 9.121 nafs is used in the sense of a person's life, existence in general.

The term is also used with reference to the emotional life. In 9.119 the soul is described as being "straitened", suggesting a certain measure of emotional strain. It was the sphere where a sense of want was felt. E.g. 12.68 speaks of "a need in the self of Jacob which he satisfied." 16.7 speaks of "great wretchedness" (shiqq) of soul. In 18.5 a strong expression occurs: fala'lla bākhi' nafsak, which Palmer renders, "Haply thou wilt grieve (or vex) thyself to death for sorrow." Cf. also 26.2, reminiscent of a deep and overwhelming emotional experience.

It was in the nafs that Moses "felt a secret fear" 20.70. In addition to the fear emotion there was also experienced in the soul the feeling of pride. 25.23 speaks of some being "too big with pride in their souls." In 35.9 the Prophet is exhorted not to waste "thy soul in sighs" for the unbelievers, indicative of deep grief and despair which was experienced in the nafs. This is again referred to in 39.57 where it is said, "Lest a soul should say, 'O my sighing (yā hasratī) for what I have neglected towards Allah.'" It was in the region of the nafs that a man was comforted and sustained 89.27. And again, the emotion of love, feeling of deep desire, could be felt in the soul. See 2.81, 5.74 where this is expressed negatively: bimā lā tahwā 'anfusuhum. Clearly, then, nafs in the Qur'ān is thought of as representing the centre of the emotional life, that part of the personality which was invaded by passions and feelings, sometimes of great depth and intensity.

Thus far the Qur'anic teaching on the nafs is identical with that of the Old Testament which seems to use nephesh in the three senses in which we have used nafs, viz., the principle of life as in Ps 6.4, the personality or the self as in 2Kg 1.13, and finally the centre of the emotional life as in Deut 12.15 which speaks of the "desire of thy soul." And as in the case of rūh in the Qur'ān so nephesh in the Old Testament is thought of as being corporeal and non-spiritual. To illustrate this Levonian in his Studies in Islām and Christianity, 25, cites 2Kg 2.8,14 where reference is made to the mantle of Elijah which was, so to speak, impregnated by the nephesh of its owner and so became possessed of miraculous powers.

But generally speaking the Qur'ān gives a quite specific content to nafs wherever it is found. It seems, e.g., to mean mind



or heart in a number of places. In 2.235 the Qur'ān speaks of an offer of marriage being kept secret fi 'anfusikum, and in the same verse it is said that Allah "knows what is in your souls." Cf. also 11.33, 17.26. In both cases it is clear that the mind or heart is meant. In 2.284 the believers are told, "If ye bring forth to the light what is in your souls, or hide it, Allah will call you to account." Here the Qur'ān may be said to be thinking in terms of mind too. In 12.77 it is said that Joseph kept the trick which he played on his brothers a secret "in his soul." Jesus son of Mary said to Allah, "Thou knowest what is in my soul but I know not what is in your soul." Here again one must interpret the word in the sense of mind or heart.

In 27.14 it is remarked of some people, "Though in their souls they knew them (the signs) to be true yet they.....denied them." 31.34, 32.17 tell of certain things that the nafs does not "know". E.g. the soul does not know what it shall earn tomorrow, in what land it will die, or "what joy of the eyes is reserved as a reward for its works." That 'knowledge' here is used in the ordinary sense is proved by the fact that in 31.34 it is said that with God "is knowledge of the Hour.....and He knows what is in the womb." In connection with this use of nafs it is interesting to notice that 21.65 speaks of the people of Abraham who "came to themselves" ('anfusihum), meaning that they came to (this is rendered by raja'ū ilā) their senses, their right mind. And then in 7.204 the believer (or is it Muḥammed himself?) is exhorted to "remember thy Lord fi nafsik.....not openly in words...." It is obvious that not only would one not be doing violence to the text, one would be supplying simply the sense required by the context were one to translate nafs in these and other related passages by mind or heart.

But although the Qur'ān often uses nafs in the sense of the self or person, of the principle of life, of emotional experiences and the centre of intellectual activity it is as the seat of the ethical and spiritual life that it is most commonly used. And here it has to be remarked that both the moral and spiritual aspects have to be taken in conjunction because both affected the eternal destiny of the nafs. In this regard the Qur'ān lays great stress upon the personal moral accountability of the nafs. "No burdened soul shall bear the burden of another; and if the heavy laden soul cry out for its load (to be carried) it shall not be carried for it at all" 35.19. These words may be said to express both the positive and negative aspects of the same truth and to underline a truth that the Qur'ān never wearies in reiterating- every nafs is responsible alone for its actions before God. 2.45 assures us that no soul shall be permitted to make satisfaction for another on the Judgment Day. "One soul shall have no influence on behalf of another soul" 82.19. *soul beyond its powers*

To emphasize the aloneness of each soul is one of the main concerns of the Qur'ān. If a man by the grace of God is guided into Islām then his guidance is for himself alone 10.108, 17.16. Cf. 34.49. Similarly the soul that acts aright 17.7, 41.46, 45.14, that fights strenuously in the path of Allah 29.5, that is grateful 27.40, 31.11, and that is pure 35.19 is assured that any merit accruing from these virtues affects himself and his own destiny alone. Not one iota of that merit can possibly be paid into the account which another soul may have with God. *with reference to*

And conversely, if a soul happens to err 10.108, 17.16, 34.49, or acts in a niggardly fashion 47.40 it will find that the demerit resulting from such a course of life will fall upon itself and upon no other. Closely connected with this truth is the assertion

that at the moment of death the destiny of the self is eternally fixed. Beyond that point no intercession will be accepted for it, nor shall any compensation be taken for it, nor shall it be helped in any way 2.45,117. Every soul shall be given up for its own works, and even though it were possible for it to compensate with the fullest compensation it would not be accepted from it 6.69. Cf too 10.55. It is even possible that on the day when the nafs does appear before Allah, the day when some of the 'signs' shall come to pass, faith may be communicated to the soul, but such a faith will be of no avail because it neither believed nor wrought good works before death overtook it 6.159.

Now it is by virtue of the self being the centre of the moral life that its fate takes on such deep significance in the Qur'ān. The moral value of the self's activity resides in the fact that it is the seat of the will, the realm where decisions are made and moral choices are determined. That is probably the force of the Qur'anic statement, "We will not oblige a soul beyond its powers" (or its capacity) 23.64; i.e. its capacity both to evaluate moral judgments or appreciate moral values and the capacity to will or not to will in accordance with these moral evaluations. In 65.7, 6.153 where directions are given to the believers regarding certain payments, the property of orphans and proper weights and measures there follows the assurance that Allah will not task any soul beyond its capacity; implying that the nafs was the realm where the ethics of the property of others was decided, and that it was there that decisions were to be taken with reference to the situations described in the passages, see also 2.233, 7.40. There nafs might almost be said to mean 'strength of character', 'power to do what is right'.

It is not surprising therefore to read that in the Qur'ān the



term nafs is equated almost with a sense of moral values. In 4.66 the Apostle is commanded to speak "into their souls with a searching word", i.e. speak words that may penetrate their souls,, penetrate their moral sense and awaken a moral response within them. 75.2 speaks of the "self-accusing soul", and in v.14 of the same surah it is said that "a man is evidence against himself" a phrase suggestive of those innate moral propensities to good and evil, propensities which the Qur'ān conceived to reside in the nafs.

It also taught that these moral dispositions and tendencies in the nafs could be trained and made to serve good or evil ends 91.8. The equation of the nafs with a sense of moral values is implied in the words, "And he went into his garden, having wronged himself (or having been unjust to his own soul)"; i.e. having outraged his sense of moral values, having been untrue to his higher self. The phrase "wrong themselves" occurs in 35.29 where it is followed by the remark, "Others take a middle course (between good and evil)." In a rather mysterious passage in surah 28 a man with whom Moses had entered into certain relations says, "My Lord, verily I have wronged (acted unjustly towards) my soul" v.15, again equating the soul with a sense of moral values and implying the possibility of an outrage against these, this being equivalent to sinning against or acting unjustly towards the self. Cf also 39.54.

In considering the nafs as the centre of the moral sense, that part of the personality where moral judgments may be formed, we have underlined, if one may so speak, the passive attitude which the nafs may assume, an attitude in which it is itself acted upon be it in a good or an evil sense. But this attitude of soul may be completely reversed. The nafs may itself take the initiative, assert itself and determine what shall be done. In 5.33, which forms part of the story of the murder of Adam's son at the hands

of his brother, the phrase occurs, fatawwa'at lahu nafsuh qatl 'akhih, i.e. but his soul made him obedient (agreeable, submissive) to slaying his brother. This power of the nafs to assume the initiative is expressed in other verses. In surah 12, when the evil designs that "the prince's wife" had towards Joseph are at last unmasked and she admits that she desired Joseph "for his person" Joseph, amongst other things, says that he himself was not altogether innocent "for the soul habitually urges to evil" v.53; suggesting that the nafs can rise up and bring the body and its carnal appetites under its control and work its will.

In the same surah Jacob, in reply to his sons who brought the blood-stained gamīs of Joseph as proof that he had been devoured by a wolf, said, "Nay, but your souls enticed (sawwalat) you to do this" v.18. The same expression occurs in another connection in v.83 but it is used again of Joseph's brothers. In 4.127 it is said that the soul is prone to avarice. Then in 20.96 the maker of the golden calf, in self defence before Moses, explained his deed by saying that his soul induced (again sawwalat) him to do it; as if to say that something rose up within him and made him do something that was altogether against his better judgment.

This aspect of the Qur'ān's use of the term nafs reminds us of the great concept in post-Biblical Judaism of yesser hā-ra', a phrase which is generally rendered by 'evil impulse'. It is the comprehensive name for those impulses which prompt a man to do or say or think things contrary to the revealed will of God. In rabbinical literature, however, as Professor G.M. Moore reminds us in his magnum opus Judaism i.480 the impulses which are included under the comprehensive name yesser hā-ra' "are not.....intrinsically evil, much less in themselves sin, but evil from their effect when man yields himself to be impelled by them to conscious-

ly unlawful acts." The yesser hā-ra' is something with which one is born and is thought of as being the tempter within a man. The occasion to sin may originate in some outward circumstance but that is not constituted a temptation until the yesser hā-ra' responds, so that strictly speaking temptation originates with this evil impulse that resides in man.

Similarly in the Qur'ān the nafs "lusts after" certain things but it may be resisted. That the last word does not lie with the nafs is made clear in 79.40 where we read of onewho "prohibited" his soul from "lust". So that although the nafs has great power it may be resisted successfully, it being possible to turn a deaf ear to what the nafs "whispers" 50.15. From the moral point of view therefore it would appear that the nafs has a distinct bias towards what is evil, evil is more natural to it than the good.

According to the Sufis there appear to be three different states of soul. When the nafs is obedient to God and is not being invaded by "lusts" it is to be described as an-nafs al-mutma'innah (the soul that is at rest); when it succumbs to temptation and allows itself to become a willing prey to "lusts" it is an-nafs al-ammārah bi's-sū' (the soul that commands to evil); but there is an intermediate state of soul, a state in which the nafs is neither completely at rest nor has it become the willing victim of "lusts", and in this case it is an-nafs al-lawwāmah (the upbraiding soul).

It may now have become clearer why Allah holds the nafs to be morally accountable to Him and why it is held responsible for its own acts and for its own alone. The nafs is said to be "earning" wages, and the kind of wages it will finally receive is determined alone by how it acts in the here and now. The words, ".....each soul shall be paid what it has earned" occur with great frequency in the Qur'ān 2.281<sup>1</sup> and it also often asserts that "no soul shall 3.24, 155, 13.42, 14.50, 16.112, 39.70, 40.17.



be wronged one iota" when the accounts are rendered and the total amount earned is paid out. *selling of their souls 2.84. Or again*

This idea of the moral responsibility of the nephesh is also very pronounced in Judaism. Since it is thought of as being the locus where the will resides and is the impelling force that moves the body, uses the body to carry out its wishes, and not only the body as such but also the appetites and passions, it follows that the nephesh will be held accountable for the deeds which the body commits, i.e. for the totality of conduct and for the character formation which emerges with the passage of time. *to the in-*

In 86.4 the Qur'ān teaches that every soul has a guardian (angel) over it. Whether this is identical with the angel of death who is given charge of men 32.11 is not clear but certain it is that there is one "standing over the soul (to note) what it has earned" 13.33, so that no mistake in the final reckoning is at all possible.

There are two points of eschatological significance regarding the nafs to which reference should be made. The first aspect concerns a phrase which occurs twice in the Qur'ān. "Every man is pledged (rahīn) for what he earns (kasab)" 52.21. In 74.41 "every soul" is substituted for "every <sup>a</sup>man". The force of the phrase seems to be that every soul is pledged to Allah for its behaviour on earth. If it acts well it redeems the pledge, but if it follows an evil course the pledge is forfeited. This well illustrates the serious moral and spiritual significance which the Qur'ān attaches to the life of the nafs. Every act has moral issues attached to it which affect a man's relations with God and his destiny after death.

Which leads us to the second observation. So serious are the moral issues of a man's mode of life that an evil course will

lead to the loss of the nafs. Evil men are said to strike a bad bargain, its result is the selling of their souls 2.84. Or again the price for which they sell themselves is described as "vile" or "sad". On the other hand a believer who is willing to die rather than apostatise from Islām may be described as selling his nafs in a good sense, the price being described as a fair one 2.203. The people who lose their souls do so because of unbelief 6.20; i.e. they lose those innate propensities of the nafs and its reasoning powers. It is in this sense that 6.104 is to be understood. It states that he who is blind to the insight which comes to him from Allah will act wilfully "against his nafs" because it will lead finally to its loss.

The question has often been asked: What was it in the prevailing situation of his day that led Muhammad to take the step that he finally took? Various answers have been offered, the most popular being that the Prophet of Arabia was stirred to action because he was convinced that a day of judgment was about to overtake his generation, and it was in order to warn men of the approaching doom that he began to preach.

This, however, is highly improbable because in the passages that are reckoned to contain Muhammad's primary message there is no certain reference to the Last Judgment. The only possible exception is 51.5f., 52.7f. The references to judgment in these early passages are to be understood in terms of temporal calamities not of a final judgment in the strict eschatological sense, though such a thought is not entirely absent from the earliest passages of the Qur'ān. It was these references to temporal calamities that constituted the warning note in Muhammad's original message.

The other great primary factor in his message was the demands that he made upon his hearers. He commanded that they should show gratitude towards Allah and offer to Him the worship of their hearts. This demand for gratitude from the men of his

MAN'S MORAL PROBLEM:

SIN AS ERROR.

---

ITS NATURE

The question has often been asked: What was it in the prevailing situation of his day that led Muhammed to take the step that he finally took? Various answers have been offered, the most popular being that the Prophet of Arabia was stirred to action because he was convinced that a day of judgment was about to overtake his generation, and it was in order to warn men of the approaching doom that he began to preach.

This, however, is highly improbable because in the passages that are reckoned to contain Muhammed's primary message there is no certain reference to the Last Judgment. The only possible exception is 51.5f., 52.7f. The references to judgment in these early passages are to be understood in terms of temporal calamities not of a final judgment in the strict eschatological sense, though such a thought is not entirely absent from the earliest passages of the Qur'ān. It was these references to temporal calamities that constituted the warning note in Muhammed's original message.

The other great primary factor in his message was the demands that he made upon his hearers. He commanded that they should show gratitude towards Allah and offer to Him the worship of their hearts. This demand for gratitude from the men of his



generation when viewed against the background of the contemporary situation becomes significant for a consideration of the Qur'anic doctrine of sin.

The main factor in that contemporary situation was the mercantile life of Mecca. Its far-reaching influences were powerful factors in the undermining of the ancient concept of tribal solidarity and in the establishment of a new ideal, that of individualism. The mercantile life and habits of Mecca created a desire to pile up wealth which instead of being expended for the welfare of the tribe was used to give security to the individual and his immediate family. Inevitably the amassing of wealth brought with it many privileges which were eagerly seized by the new and, relatively speaking, numerically small monied class, but the duties towards the poor which riches involved were ignored. This bred insolence and a feeling of self-sufficiency among the wealthy members of Meccan society which inevitably led to a disregard or a denial of the Creator, and it was to combat these disquieting by-products of the mercantile life of Mecca that Muhammed came forth to preach and to deliver his message.

Another important factor in the situation was the breakdown of the ancient institutions that had helped to integrate life for so long in Arabia. The tribe had been the all-important unit, and life was lived in accordance with tribal usage, i.e. according to sunnah. So that the concept of sin (if it existed at all) in pre-Islamic times should be thought of in terms of deviation (dalāl) from the established sunnah. Now, as we shall see presently, this concept of sin as being deviation from a recognised and accepted course of conduct is very strongly emphasized in the Qur'ān, and the probability is that Muhammed (who would of necessity have to forge and mould a new religious

made desirable and commendable to him. It is in fact false but vocabulary) took over this idea of sin as dalāl from the sunnah, but for tribal usage he substituted divine command, a divine command that was now being revealed by Allah to men through His Apostle. So that in Islām sin became a deviation from or disobedience against the divine command, and dalāl became one of, if not the standard term(s) for sin. One of the points that emerge from this concept of sin in pre-Islamic times is that it makes highly improbable the now common distinction between deliberate and accidental sins.

There are several terms that the Qur'ān uses when referring to sin and these must be considered in turn, but since deviation seems to be the fundamental concept in the Qur'ān's doctrine of sin we shall make that the starting point in our inquiry.

### SIN AS DALĀL.

The original meaning of the root dall is to err, go astray, deviate from the right way, miss the right way or lose one's way. It is also used to signify the state of mind of the one who has lost his way, i.e. the confusion and perplexity of thought to which the inability to see one's way gives rise. By extension the word may even be used to describe a thing or a person as lost, strayed or perishing. The forms dallal and 'idall mean to cause to err or go astray, to cause one to miss or lose his way. Now these two forms of the root raise a point to which special attention must be paid.

Lane points out that there are two senses in which a man may be led astray. His being made to miss the way might be a consequence of his already having gone astray. He might be made to lose his way by divine decree but only because he has already strayed away from the right course. But he might also be made to deviate from the right path by virtue of having the deviation

made desirable and commendable to him. It is in fact false but the embellishment makes it seem right.

Now (still following Lane) in addition to the sense in which God leads astray to which reference has just been made there is a second. Allah causes a man to err because He has so constituted him that he may become so accustomed to a course of action, commended or condemned, that finally it becomes so congenial to him that he finds it difficult and then impossible to turn from it. Hence the well known substantive dalāl has come to mean any deviation, conscious or unconscious, from that which is right. We shall see in our study of this concept of sin that dalāl is predicated of both prophets and unbelievers but in the case of the first it refers to mental speculation regarding the nature of God and the functions of prophethood while in the latter case dalāl means a state of being lost, a state of perdition. With these observations before us we are now ready to consider what the Qur'ān has to say about sin as deviation from the right way, erring to such an extent that one can be described as 'lost' theologically speaking.

The point of view of the Qur'ān seems to be that all who are not believers are, ipso facto, dallūn, which, we suggest, is another way of saying that in the natural course of things man is born in a state of dalāl, he is born a dall. This is, of course, a familiar concept in Christianity. It emphasizes the well known words, "I was born in sin, and in sin did my mother conceive me" Ps 51.5. And then Paul's words in Rom 5.12,19 "As through one man sin entered into the world, and death through sin; and so death passed unto all men, for that all have sinned.....For as through the one man's disobedience the many were made sinners...." And again Paul's words in Eph 2.3 to the effect that "we....were



by nature children of wrath...." have formed part of the basis for the Christian doctrine of original sin.

That some such similar idea is present in the Qur'ān is evident from the following references. E.g. 2.194 urges believers to "remember Him who guided you, although ye were surely before of those who err." Again, in 3.158 the Qur'ān points out that before the Apostle came to teach the Book and wisdom those who finally believed were "in manifest dalāl." Cf also 62.2. And not only is man by nature in dalāl; he may even be conscious, at least momentarily, of his erring condition. E.g. the Qur'ān remarks that when the Children of Israel sinned in respect of the calf "they saw (ra'au) that they had gone astray 7.148.

The words, "surely we are astray" are put into the mouths of the two men in the course of the parable that occurs in surah 68 (v.26). And the Qur'ān also seems to suggest in 7.178 that not only may men be conscious of error but that the volition may also be a factor in the situation. In the course of this verse mankind (jinn are also mentioned) are described as having neither hearts nor eyes nor ears; "they are like cattle, nay they go more astray, these it is who are neglectful" (ghāfilūn): as if to suggest that they were conscious of having gone astray and were determined to persist in their error, being quite heedless of the consequences involved in their deviation.

Cf. also 45.22 where the Qur'ān speaks of one whom Allah sends astray "wittingly" or causes him to err "wilfully" ('alā 'ilm, which Dr Bell renders 'on the basis of knowledge', and suggests, "this phrase may imply some knowledge of revealed religion on the part of the people referred to"). Another indication that the Qur'ān conceived that men could be conscious of going astray is found in 38.25 where David is told, "Do not follow desire so

that it lead thee astray from the way of Allah." And the verse continues, "For those who stray from the path of God is keen torment because they forgot the day of reckoning." If this reference to memory represents reality at all it means that the erring were conscious of being in dalāl and omitted to remember (tacitly implying that they ought not to have forgotten) the consequences of their deviation from "the path of Allah".

We have emphasized this attitude of the Qur'ān in this regard because it prepares us for a consideration of the oft-repeated statement that man is not merely straying from the right path but is being led astray. The Qur'ān e.g. makes the statement that Allah leads men into error. In 2.24 it is said that "He leads astray many", but that is followed by the remark, "He leads astray only the reprobate". In 6.125 the Qur'ān explains the steps that Allah takes with those "He wishes to lead astray" but again the qualification is added, those thus dealt with are "those who do not believe". Cf also 40.74 where unbelievers are the object of God's leading astray but the mark of their unbelief is idolatry. Again, in 7.154 the Qur'ān speaks of Allah leading astray whom He pleases but points out that He does so by means of trial (fitnah), and since God guides whom He pleases on the same principle it is plain that the fundamental cause of the leading astray is not the arbitrary <sup>action</sup> of a capricious Deity but some quality or bias in man which, when he is put to the test, leads him astray or guides him aright.

God's leading astray a people is also qualified in 9.116 where it is said that He will not do this in the case of a people whom He has already guided "until that which they ought to dread (or guard against) hath been clearly shown them." And then follows the remark, "Allah knoweth all things"; which suggests that His

leading people into error has to be considered in the light of His omniscience. In 13.27 the statement, "God leads astray whom He will" is the answer with which the Qur'ān cuts short the assertion made by some unbelievers, "Unless a sign is sent down upon him (Muhammed) from his Lord....." And the close connection between this act of Allah and the words of unbelief suggests that it is because of unbelief that He leads unbelievers into error. In 14.32 the Qur'ān says that it is the wrongdoers whom God leads astray, a statement that is preceded by the remark that the Lord "answers those who believe with the sure word....." Thus in both cases God's action is determined finally by the response with which His dealings with men <sup>are</sup> met. It is not the divine action that determines the fate of those concerned, it is the predilections of those upon whom Allah brings His influences to bear.

In 16.39 it is said that God guides not those who go astray, because in fact He cannot if they persist in deviating from His way. This verse underlines the measure of freedom that the Qur'ān, tacitly or otherwise, predicates of the will of man; as also does 16.95 where it is said that Allah could, if He had pleased, made men of one community but He did not and thereby granted to men a measure of personal freedom, which acts as a qualification to the (in this case) otherwise unqualified statement that God leads astray whom He will.

In 35.9 Allah leads astray by embellishing for man and so making desirable what is in fact false and wrong. "Is he whose evil act is made seemly for him so that he looks upon it as good (to be treated like him who sees things aright)? God leads astray whom He pleases and guides whom He pleases....." In this sense man is so constituted that he may habituate himself to what he esteems to be good (though in fact it may be evil) and so finally finds it



difficult and then impossible to turn from it. In this sense it may be said that God leads a man astray. In this connection it is interesting to notice 6.43 where it is said that Shayṭān makes seemly to men that which they do.

It is in this light that 45.22 should perhaps be considered because it speaks of the man who takes his lusts (or his desires) for his god. Such a one God leads astray "wittingly". The man's passions have been allowed to wield such a fascination over him that he finds that he cannot break the spell they have cast over his mind. The verse goes on to describe how Allah has set a seal upon such a man's hearing and heart and has placed upon his eyesight dimness, but obviously that doom had its genesis in a state of mind or attitude of heart which later became a habit that could not be broken. In 40.36 the Qur'ān speaks of those who "ceased not to doubt" concerning the signs that Joseph brought, and apparently this attitude of mind became such a habit that they came to the place where they were able to convince themselves that "Allah will not send any messenger after him", and the verse concludes, "Thus God leads astray him who is extravagant, suspicious."

In the light of these considerations we can appreciate the force and truth of the remark in 7.28, 16.38. The volition is such an important factor in this matter of men being led astray by God that those who are not guided "have justly incurred the penalty of going astray" 7.28, and are those "upon whom error was justly laid" 16.38. And it is because of the factor of the will in this matter that the Qur'anic assertion, there is no guidance for the erring, is true. Man's wilfulness, the fact that he is already astray before the divine factor enters into the situation, makes every effort on the part of a prophet to find a way

back to the right path hopeless 30.28.

In this regard 25.18-20 is instructive. There the deities are asked if it was they who led their worshippers astray or if it was the latter who went astray of their own volition. The question is asked because apparently the idolaters are endeavouring to place the responsibility of their going astray upon their deities. The latter disclaim any responsibility by tracing the waywardness of the idolaters a) to Allah's goodness to them and b) to their having forgotten the Reminder. The significant point is that this plea by the deities is accepted and in v.20 the idolaters are told, "Now have they (the deities) made you out to be liars in what you say....." V.21 continues, "Whoever of you does wrong we will cause to taste a great punishment." So that although men may be led astray that does not a) cancel out man's personal responsibility for his deviating from the path of Allah or b) save him from the punishment that such a deviation entails.

The Qur'ān draws attention to the fact that Shayṭān may also lead men astray. In 4.63 this is mentioned in relation to those who wish to believe in Muḥammed and at the same time maintain trust in idols. Of these it is said that Shayṭān "wishes to lead them astray." In 25.31 the Qur'ān quotes the testimony of one on the Judgment Day who, after expressing remorse a) for not having followed the Apostle and b) for having taken Shayṭān for a friend, testifies that Satan led him astray from the Reminder (dhikr) that had come to him. The remark is added, "Satan leaves man in the lurch" (khadhūl), i.e. abandons or betrays those who trust him.

1. 43.39, 16.39, 27.83, 4.90, 39.24. (here the Samarī) to

tempt others to stray, and that thereby He put them to the test

The Qur'ān also makes Moses the object of these machinations of Shayṭān. In 28.14 the story of the murder that Moses committed is related, and immediately the deed was perpetrated Moses is quoted as saying, "This is the work of Shayṭān, truly he is clearly an enemy who leads astray." In 36.60ff the Qur'ān refers to "the children of Adam" when quoting the following words addressed to them by the Lord, "Did I not covenant with you..... that ye should not serve Satan.....but that ye should serve Me? This is the straight path. But he led astray a vast host of you....." Here again, it is those who already err that are led astray.

The act of leading astray is also attributed to men by the Qur'ān, and those who are guilty of this are misbelievers. E.g. 47.1 says that those who misbelieve and turn folk from God's way He will make their works go wrong. And here those who are led astray must be backsliders because obviously they were in "God's way" when they were turned aside. Cf also 6.119 where believers are warned that many will lead them astray. In this case the qualifying phrase "without knowledge" is found. In 71.28 the Qur'ān quotes a prayer of Noah in which He calls upon God to remove the misbelievers from the earth because if they are left "they will lead astray Thy servants". However, the endeavours of unbelievers to lead believers astray do not always meet with success 3.62.

In 26.99 it is idolaters who testify to having been led astray and to the fact that it was "sinners" (mujrimūn) who were responsible for their missing the right way. In 20.87 the Qur'ān connects man's part in leading others astray with divine trial, assuming that God permitted men (here the Sāmarī) to tempt others to stray, and that thereby He put them to the test



and found them wanting, since the outcome was that they went astray. This reference concerns the Children of Israel but the context suggests that they had already rebelled and were bent on destroying their leader Moses vv.85f.

In 33.67 those in hell are said to express deep remorse that they obeyed not God or the Apostle and go on to confess that it was because they obeyed their chiefs and their great ones that the latter led them astray. The Qur'ān says that men lead others astray by devising lies against God and in this way "lead the people away in their ignorance" 6.145. Cf 31.5 where the latter phrase is repeated, only the means by which the people are led astray is "frivolous tales". And cf. 16.27 where those who lead others astray in "their ignorance" will be called upon to bear some of the burdens of their dupes. Cf. also 71.23, 22.4, 6.116.

It is of interest to note that the Qur'ān quotes a complaint made by the idolaters against Muḥammad: "He will-nigh leads us astray from our gods" 25.44. This is an interesting allusion because it proves that the use of dalāl to express wrongdoing as deviation from the 'right' way was known in pre-Islamic times. It also throws light upon this conception of sin as turning aside from a course of action that is reckoned to be 'right'. This, of course, is the predominating thought lying behind the Qur'ān's use of the root now under consideration.

In most of the references where the Qur'ān speaks of men being made to err by God there is the accompanying antithesis that it is He too who guides men aright; and since the two statements are brought together in such an intimate fashion one must be understood in contrast with the other. We shall take up this complementary truth at a later stage.

It is clear, then, that sin as dalāl is missing the mark, failing to reach the objective at which one has been aiming, and that this failure is due to missing the way, deviating from the path that would lead to a realisation of the true purpose in life. Men are in error because they have left the beaten track of God's commandments. This is clear from a consideration of the characteristic features of the dāllīn. E.g. they exchange unbelief for faith 2.102, associate other entities with Allah 4.116, misbelieve 4.135, and backslide from the faith 3.84, 5.15. They utter lies 56.91f., rebel against God and His Apostle 33.36, follow their own lusts 28.50 and love the life of this world better than the Hereafter 14.3. They also obstruct the way of God 4.165, 14.3, dispute concerning the Hour 42.17, are unjust 31.10 and are sinners 54.47. Those who are guilty of these outrages against the moral and religious codes which the Qur'ān accepts as 'the path of God' are in dalāl mubīn (or ba'id), clear (or wide) error, they have strayed from sawā'at 's-sabīl (the level road).

And the means by which men are led astray from 'the level path' are the adornment and wealth of this present life 10.88, a man's own lusts 38.25, and the idols to whom is given the worship that belongs to Allah alone 14.35, 38f., 39.11. These references remind us again of the factor of the human volition in this matter of deviation from the path of God. And it is because of this that judgment falls on those who err. And the man who does deviate from the right road does so to his own hurt alone 10.108, 17.16, 34.49.

And the consequences that accrue to a man who errs from 'the level path' are serious in the extreme. As was to be expected a fierce punishment awaits them in the life to come 36.62f. On

the Judgment Day those who stray through idolatry will find the idols in which they trust straying away from them 6.94, 7.51, and often. The erring "think they are doing good deeds" 18.104, but the same verse reminds us that they are "those who lose most by their works", i.e. their effort goes astray in this present life and are made of no effect 47.5,9. Unable to find a way themselves 17.51, 25.10 they lead others astray also 5.81; and as they increasingly despair of the mercy of the Lord 15.56 their hearts become more and more hardened against the remembrance of Allah 39.23.

The power of the dāllīn to lead others astray is considerably lessened where true believers are concerned. In speaking to believers the Qur'ān in 5.104 says, "Mind yourselves, he who errs can do you no harm when ye are guided." It is true that Moses was led astray 26.19, 28.14, but we are not to understand a deviation here in terms of turning from the faith or from devotion to God; it was rather error in regard to the means by which Allah's will was to be accomplished. Time was when Muḥammed was wandering in error but that was before he received guidance 93.7. Once he had been directed into the straight path the Qur'ān was absolutely confident that neither error nor delusion need touch him 53.2, and it expresses the same confidence in respect to all to whom guidance has come from God. "Who-so follows My guidance shall not err" 20.122. But clearly the Prophet was open to temptation along this line. The possibility of being led astray was not so remote after all, but in meeting this temptation he was not left to his own resources: "Were it not for God's grace upon thee, and His mercy, a party of them would have tried to lead thee astray; but they only lead themselves astray: they shall not injure you at all." And doubtless it was



the conviction of the Qur'ān that the grace and mercy of Allah that preserved the Prophet from being led astray were available to the humblest believer and would be efficacious in his experience too. Nowhere in the Qur'ān is there any mention of the possibility of forgiveness or repentance in connection with dalāl, but guidance is promised to all who will follow the right path.

### SIN AS KHATĪ'.

The next term we shall consider in this study of the Qur'anic doctrine of sin is khātī'. Its meaning is closely connected with that of dalāl. It signifies missing the mark, committing an error. It is of interest to notice that the Old Testament idea of sin resembles that of the Qur'ān. In addition to the idea of sin as deviation which we have just been considering there are, as we shall see presently, two other conceptions expressed in the Qur'ān, rebellion and sheer badness or worthlessness. Now in his Christian Doctrine of Man 34ff. H.W. Robinson remarks that these three features are also underlined in the Old Testament, and of these the first is by far the most important, which means that the Old Testament places the emphasis in its concept of sin exactly where the Qur'ān places it when it is dealing with sin.

In this connection the Old Testament operates with the term khata' means to miss the mark, deviate from the right way, fail to do something or other in relation either to God or man. The close relation between recognised custom or usage and morality is strong in the Old Testament and, as has happened in Islām, it resulted in an externalisation of morality. It was the rule of

custom that was conceived to constitute moral rule and which decided what was right and wrong. "No such thing ought to be done in Israel" was the plea that Tamar used to try to dissuade Amnon from forcing or humbling her 2Sam 13.2, cf. also Gen 34.7, Jdg 19.30, 1Sam 25.39, Deut 22.21, etc. Obviously there is much here that is common to the concept of sin in pre-Islamic times.

This Qur'anic term khati', as Lane points out, means to commit a mistake either with or without intention. The fault committed may be a religious one. E.g., a man may adopt a wrong course in religion. The word may also be used of an error in calculation. It may refer to a wrong act committed with the intention of doing well. It is also used of an archer's failure to hit the target.

This fundamental meaning of committing an error of judgment or failure to hit the mark in contradistinction to what the heart does of set purpose is illustrated in 33.5 where it is said that while no crime (junah) attaches to a failure to hit the mark this is not so when what is done is committed of set purpose and recognised to be correct or as missing the mark to a much more with the full intention of the qalb. Again, 4.94 says that a believer is not to kill another believer unless it be by mistake. If such a thing does happen satisfaction must be made. The sense of fault or mistake in khati' is brought out in 4.112 where the word is found in juxtaposition with the more positive 'ithm

(guilty deed), although the former is used in the Qur'an in a positive sense too. It is e.g. the adjectival form of this root dhamb may be committed inadvertently whereas an 'ithm is always that is used to describe Joseph's brothers when they were confessing that they had sinned against him 12.91,98. It is also used to describe the sinful condition of Pharaoh, Haman and their hosts, the people of Sodom 28.7, 69.9 and the wife of the Biblical Potiphar 12.29.

It was, therefore, necessary to seek divine forgiveness even for khati'āt because there was always the possibility of being "taken to task" by Allah because of these "mistakes" 2.286. The Qur'ān pours scorn upon the unbelievers who try to induce believers to follow their way of life by their promising to bear their (the believers') khati'āt 29.11, the Qur'ān knowing full well that the Fire is the fate of those who persist in such deeds 2.75, 71.25. Little wonder, then, that Abraham should earnestly desire forgiveness from God for his khati'āt 26.82, and likewise Pharaoh's magicians when they became convinced of the divinenature of Moses' mission 20.75, 26.51. We read also of the Lord assuring the Children of Israel, as they entered the Promised Land, that He would extend to them the same blessing of forgiveness 2.55, 7.161.

#### SIN AS DHANB.

The root dhanab provides us with an opportunity to pass from the idea of sin as deviation from a course of conduct that it<sup>s</sup> recognised to be correct or as missing the mark to a much more positive concept, sin as positive badness; though we shall see that in itself a dhanab is not quite so serious as other manifestations of sinfulness or worthlessness represented by the terms that shall follow.

Lane remarks that although the root dhanab means sin, misdemeanour, and occurs as a synonym of the more serious 'ithm yet a dhanab may be committed inadvertently whereas an 'ithm is always done of set purpose. Dhanab, therefore, is more closely related to khati'ah than to the more positive 'ithm. Unlike khati'ah the Qur'ān provides few instances of dhanab. Indeed the only specific example is the murder of the Egyptian by Moses, and there



the sense seems to be that of 'crime' in the strict meaning of that term and not 'sin'. The Qur'ān reports Moses as saying, walahum 'alayyā dhanb, meaning they (the Egyptians) have a crime to bring against me. On the Last Day the child who was buried alive will be asked for what dhanb was she put to death.

But apart from the reference to Moses' crime some idea of what constituted a dhanb in the Qur'ān is shown by the types of people mentioned who committed dhunūb. The prince's wife who was so powerfully attracted to Joseph 12.29, Joseph's brothers 12.98, mankind in general and Jinn 55.39, Jews and Christians 5.21, and even Muhammed 40.57, 47.21, 48.2 are all spoken of as having committed dhunūb and are urged in these verses to ask pardon from Allah. Cf. too 3.129. Indeed it is this element of pardon which may be said to be the outstanding feature of the Qur'ān's use of the root dhanab. In 14.11, 46.30, 71.4 it is said that God calls men in order to pardon their dhunūb, and in 40.11, 67.11 there are references to men "confessing" their dhunūb before Allah. In 2.79 these two words are brought together again.

In 40.2 Allah is called "the Forgiver of dhanb", He being well aware of these sins that lurk in the hearts of His servants 17.18. Such emphasis on the willingness of Allah to forgive dhanb (cf. also 39.45 where it is said that God "forgives dhunūb all of them") adds point to the Qur'ān's appeal to men not to despair 3.29, 141, 191, 33.71, 61.12 in regard to dhanb. But refusal to seek pardon will issue only in each man being seized ('akhad) in his dhanb 3.9, 6.6, 7.98, 8.54, 56, 40.22, or in God bringing upon him his sins 5.54 and thus destroying him in his dhunūb. 45.6 the phrase "sinful liar" ('ayyak 'athim) occurs, in 83.18 sinful transgressor, in 4.107 fraudulent sinner (khaṣan).

#### SIN AS 'ITHM.

We now come to a class of words which are much more robust and

definite in meaning and content. The first of these is 'ithm, These references suggest unmistakably that the term now under view connotes a sinful act of a serious nature. Indeed sometimes the word signifies the actual punishment which the 'ithm deserves. Another form of the word, 'athām, means the requital or recompence of the 'ithm that has been committed. This form actually occurs in the Qur'ān, yalqa 'athām, 25.68, meaning he shall find the penalty or incur the guilt of taking from a woman whom one has divorced part of her dowry. This sin.

The Qur'ān uses this word in various connections. E.g. it describes some "suspicion" as 'ithm and urges believers to avoid it 49.12. Again, the word is used with reference to apostasy from Islām but of apostasy that was not wilful but due to some extenuating circumstances and for which, therefore, there was forgiveness 2.168, 5.5. The Qur'ān also uses the word in connection with enmity or malice ('udwān). Cf. e.g. 5.3 where believers are urged not to help one another to 'ithm and 'udwān; and 5.67 where some are described as "vieing with each other" in those sins. In 2.79 these two words are brought together again with reference to people who "back each other up" in these things, a remark that is preceded by a reference to slaying kinsmen and turning people out of their homes.

In 58.9,10 "rebellion against the Apostle" is added to 'ithm and 'udwān. In 42.35 it is linked with fawāhish (abominations); cf. too 53.33. Note also 2.202 which refers to pride ('izzah) seizing hold of a man in 'ithm. Unbelievers are given length of days by God only that they may increase in 'ithm. The adjectival form of the root is used with several strong nouns. E.g. in 26.222, 45.6 the phrase "sinful liar" ('affāk 'athīm) occurs, in 83.12 sinful transgressor, in 4.107 fraudulent sinner (khawwān 'athīm), and in 2.277 it is used to describe an unbeliever (kaffār).

These references suggest unmistakably that the term now under review connoted a sinful act of a serious nature. The only 'ithm

The Qur'ān associates ithm particularly with matters relevant to legacies and testimonies. E.g. in 2.184 believers are urged not to devour part of another's wealth bi 'l'ithm (sinfully or unjustly). 4.24 describes as "manifest sin" ('ithm mubīn) the taking from a woman whom one has divorced part of her dowry. This phrase is also used to describe the causing of annoyance or affront to believers 33.58, and devising a lie against God 4.53. It was also an 'ithm to alter a legacy 2.177. To conceal a testimony, i.e. to refuse to give evidence, was the mark of an 'athīm qalb (sinful heart) 2.283. Similarly to sell one's testimony or to conceal the testimony of God was proof that one was among the 'athīm (sinners) 5.105.

In addition this word is linked with the eating of unlawful things. In 5.67 the unlawful things are not specified but in 2.216 wine is described as 'ithm, and also the game of chance called maysar. It is true that in the same verse both are described as profitable to men but the harmful results accruing from khamr and from maysar, e.g. the dissipation of a man's wealth and property entailing hardship to himself and his dependents, far outweighed any possible profit and reduced each of these things to the level of an 'ithm. It is interesting to notice that in matters relating to legacies, testimonies, etc., irregularities became sin in the strong sense of 'ithm because they affected other people. They constituted an invasion of the rights of personality and property. To outrage these sacred rights was to commit an 'ithm.

In respect of 'ithm the Qur'ān has little to say regarding either its pardon or its judgment; but 6.120 urges men to "leave



alone the outside of 'ithm and the inside thereof", a phrase which is taken to mean, flee from open and secret sins. The only 'ithm that is forgiven is that committed by a believer when he apostatizes unwilfully or because of extenuating circumstances 2.186, 5.5. Pardon is assured to the man who shuns 'ithm 53.33. The Qur'an says plainly that Allah has prohibited 'ithm 7.31, and that those who persist in it will have for their food in hell the fruit of the Zaqqūm tree.

#### SIN AS FUJUR.

The Qur'an also presses the root fajar into service when dealing with moral evil. The primary meaning of this root is to cleave open, burst or pour through as a stream gushes forth. It came to have a moral connotation and was used of an immoral or wicked act. A fajjār was an immoral or sinful person. The substantive fujūr meant vice or wickedness. It is clear that this root has reference to acts and persons of a particularly vicious character. There are but few references in the Qur'an where these terms occur, which may be an indirect testimony to the particularly evil connotation that they carried for the generation to whom the Qur'an was given.

In 38.27 the almost surprised question is asked, Shall we make the pious (muttaqīn) like the impious (fujjār)? The fujūr is located in the nafs, see 91.8 where the Qur'an remarks that the soul has been taught its wickedness. The word for 'taught' is 'alham, which may be rendered to inspire someone with or to breathe into. 91.8 states that piety (taqwā) has also been "breathed into" the soul, and the man who nourishes piety in his soul and so "purifies" it is blessed (lit. prosperous), while he who nourishes the impiety in his soul is undone 91.9f.

This seems to suggest that fujūr has been worked into the warp and woof of human nature.

That this is so is further suggested by the remark in 71.27f that the men of Noah's were so wicked that they only bore for children fājir kaffār (wicked misbelievers). Cf 80.42 for the same expression. This would suggest that the fujūr in the parents was hereditary and was passed on to the children. Concerning the fujjār 83.7 speaks of their kitāb or register and describes it as being in sijjīn, i.e. the prison in hell, from whence the register of the wicked has taken its name. 82.14 speaks of the fujjār being in hell. The Qur'ān knows nothing of pardon for fujūr. The Qur'ān does not indicate that it is found in believers.

#### SIN AS FAHSHĀ.

The next root we have to consider is fahash which seems to have particular relevance to sexual irregularities. Doubtless these terms for sexual irregularities had quite specific meanings but these have now been irretrievably lost. In this connection it is necessary to point out that in the Arabia contemporary with Muhammed people traced their descent either on patrilineal or matrilineal principles. The first system did not lend itself to serious irregularities, but it was far different under the matrilineal system.

Where a marriage took place under the latter system the house belonged to the female partner; the male partner went there to stay. It is obvious that such an arrangement was open to very grave abuses, and while in some instances happy and permanent unions were effected yet the possibility of using such an arrangement as a cloak for prostitution must have been very real. It is assumed that such a union was dominated by the female partner in

that she had presumably the right either to dismiss permanently or separate temporarily from her 'husband'. The impression is also gained that the male partner contributed little to the procreation of the child under the matrilineal system. It may have been conceived that the father simply hastened on processes which, it was thought, were already in operation. However that may be it is probably necessary to view the terms used by the Qur'ān concerning sexual irregularities against a background where matrilineal descent was a feature of the social system, and where the matrilineal system was not only accepted but widely practised.

Lane points out that the word fahush refers to something that is especially excessive, immoderate beyond measure, and has come to be used of a practice that is lewd, foul to an outstanding degree. It is used also of obscene language. The adjectival form, fāhish, refers to a person guilty of abominable heinous in sexual affairs, and it is that aspect that the Qur'ān emphasizes in its use of the root.

It was from such an act that Joseph was saved when tempted to illicit intercourse with his master's wife 12.24. The Qur'ān describes as fāhishah the marrying of the wife of one's father 4.26. The committing of adultery by the wives of the ~~be~~ believers would also be fāhishah 4.19,23,30. It is surprising to learn that such a strong word is used with reference to the wives of Muḥammed. A double torment from Allah is promised to any of them who commit such an act 33.30, and in 65.1 the Prophet is commanded not to drive them from their houses except for such a cause. In 24.18 fāhishah ought perhaps to be translated "foul calumnies" or "scandal". The Qur'ān apparently was sensitive to malicious rumours and injurious allegations or gossip.

Fāhishah is used by the Qur'ān to describe the particularly



lewd sin of the people of Sodom 7.78, 27.55, 29.27. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Qur'ān should say that it is Satan who urges men to commit fāhishah 2.164, 27.1, 24.21, and should place it in the list things of things that Allah forbids to His people 6.152<sup>L</sup> and specially commends those who shun it 42.35. Divine forgiveness is promised to believers who do so and even to those who actually commit it but who afterwards "remember God and ask forgiveness for their sins" 3.129. In the light of these considerations one cannot but recognise the particular relevance of 29.44 which commands the Prophet to "recite what has been revealed.....and be steadfast in prayer; verily prayer restrains from fāhishah....."

# SIN AS SA A.

In meaning sa a is similar to the root <sup>f j</sup> ʿafar. It has reference to what is abominable or unseemly. The Qur'ān, however, does not bring this strong sense of the word into prominence, and in the majority of instances it might well be rendered simply 'bad', though in several places it obviously means something much more than merely lacking in goodness. In several passages the root has no moral significance at all. E.g. it is used of the hand of Moses when smitten with leprosy 20.23, of a turn of evil fortune 3.168, an evil gain 2.75, etc., but our concern is with the strictly moral aspect of evil and we must now consider the use of the root in the Qur'ān from this point of view.

In some passages it has significance for the thought life of man. E.g. in 48.6, 12 several classes of wicked men are said to

1. 7.31, 16.92, cf. also 7.27, 17.34.

expressed by sa a it is, by a strange circumstance, through its use of this root that it demonstrates the possibility of divine pardon most clearly.

think zann 's-saw'i (wicked thoughts) of God. The faculty of judgment is itself affected. See e.g. 6.137 where the subject is the idolaters of whom it is said sa'a mā yahkumūn (ill do they judge). The same phrase occurs in 16.61, 29.3, 45.20 concerning other classes of men of an evil way of life. In 12.25 Joseph is referred to by his master's wife as one who intended ('arād) evil for his master's family, again an indirect reference to the thought life. And, greatly daring, the Qur'ān ascribes the same sentiment to Allah 13.12, 33.17. In these verses the thing wished for by Allah is sū'ā. Cf. also 11.57 where the gods are thought of as attacking Hud with sū'i (evil).

The root is also used with reference to feelings and sentiments. E.g. Lot was grieved (si'a) when the angels were humiliated by the men of Sodom 11.79, 29.32. In 5.101 things are mentioned which, if shown, would "pain" one, meaning mental anguish not physical pain. Unbelievers are "grieved" when good fortune befalls the believers 3.116. The phrase reads, tasū'hum it is bad for them. Cf also 9.50. The root also has reference to speech. In 60.2 the believers are warned against those who would "stretch forth against you.....their tongues for evil" bi 's-sū'i, and in 4.147 it is said the Allah "loves not publicity of evil speech".

It is clear that in the Qur'ān sa'a refers not so much to a condition but to acts, a course of conduct resulting from a certain state of mind. It is evil deeds that the Qur'ān emphasizes in its use of sa'a; see e.g. 5.70, 6.161, 35.9 and at least fifteen other verses. And yet in spite of the serious view that the Qur'ān takes of moral evil as expressed by sa'a it is, by a strange circumstance, through its use of this root that it demonstrates the possibility of divine pardon most clearly.

In 27.63 it is said that God answers the distressed when he calls upon Him and "removes the evil" (sū'a). In many places the Qur'ān gives the assurance that God forgives, but the following verses make it clear that this divine pardon concerns the believers only. There is no possibility of forgiveness for any one who is outside the pale of Islām. The phrase used (with unimportant variations) is yukaffir 'ankum min sayyātikum, He (God) uncovers (displays, exposes to view and so removes) that which was before covered and concealed, in this case moral offences.

The interesting point is that in most instances where this phrase occurs conditions are laid down upon which the uncovering of the offences depend. In 2.273 forgiveness is made conditional upon almsgiving. In 3.190f. the condition is faith. In 3.194 it concerns those who suffered for the faith and ultimately died fighting. In 4.35 the expiation has reference to those who shun great sins while in 5.15 it refers to those who pray, give alms, believe in and help the apostles and lend generously to God. In 5.70 it is for those who believe and fear, cf. also 8.29, 65.5. 4.148 suggests that God will pardon the man who himself forgives sū'i, while sū'i done in ignorance will also be pardoned. Good works remove evil works (sayyāt) 11.116; cf. 27.11 which speaks of substituting good for evil (baddal husn ba'da sū'i), and 13.22 where evil (sayy'ah) is said to be warded off with good.

#### SIN AS JARAM.

We come now to a root which in the Qur'ān lays special emphasis on the element of judgment. Originally jaram signified to shear (wool off sheep) or cut off (the fruit of the palm trees). It has come to mean to commit sin, crime or disobedience. The substantive jurm signifies a fault, offence or crime intention-



ally or inadvertently committed.

In the Qur'ān the word seems to have particular reference to violent and sinful reactions towards contradiction either of one's predilections or the proclamation of the message of Allah. E.g. in 5.3 the believers are urged not to allow resentment and ill will towards those who denied them access to the Ka'bah incite them to transgress, while in v.11 of the same surah rancour is not to induce them not to walk or act uprightly. The same thought occurs in 11.91 where the prophet Shu'ayb pleads with the people to whom he was sent not to allow their opposition towards or breach with (shiqāq) him to lead them into sin and so bring upon them the fate that overtook the people of Noah.

The violent reaction expressed by jaram is illustrated by the remark in 83.29 that those who sin laugh the faithful to scorn. The Egyptians 7.130, 44.21 (in 10.76 Pharaoh and his chiefs are alone mentioned) and the people of Sodom 7.82, 51.32, communities noted for their violent and antagonistic refusal of the messengers of God, are spoken of as mujrimūn (sinners) in these verses. This is also the appellation of the people of Tubba' 44.37 and of the Jews 6.148, 12.110. In this connection the Qur'ān remarks that the violence (bā's) or vengeance of Allah will not be averted from them.

The characteristics of the mujrimūn underline the violent nature of the sin that jaram represents. They call the Judgment Day a lie 77.46, are violently opposed (kariha) to the truth 8.8, forge lies against Allah 10.18, call hell a lie 55.43, and proudly scorn God's signs 45.30. In 11.37 Muhammed, replying to the charge that he himself had devised the Qur'ān, says, "If I have devised, then on me be my sin ('ajrāmī); implying that if the Prophet had devised the Qur'ān it would have been of the same

as the acts of the mujrimūn.

The Qur'ān was so impressed by the violence of the opposition manifested by the mujrimūn that it sought for an explanation of the phenomenon, and it attributed the violent conduct as a divine influence upon the heart 15.12. Cf. also 6.123, 25.33. In 26.200 it is said that God has made a way for infidelity into the hearts of the mujrimūn. And so they are in disgrace with God (saghār 'ind Allah, i.e. meanness in God's eyes befalls them) 6.124. He takes vengeance upon them in this life 46.24, 27.71, 30.46, 77.18, therefore they will never prosper 10.18.

It will not be necessary to ask them about their faults on the Judgment Day 34.24 so obvious will have been both the character and fruit of their way of life. They will be known by their marks 55.41, and the fear of their faces will be too apparent to warrant any inquiry 18.47. On the Last Day they will be "confused" 30.11 as they separate themselves 36.59 and stand before the Lord, their heads hanging down down before Him 32.12. In madness 54.47 the mujrimūn will be driven into hell 19.89.

#### SIN AS MA' SIYAH.

Two roots remain to be considered and these introduce the third main element in the concept of sin in the Qur'ān, that of rebellion or disobedience.

The first of these is asā, to disobey, rebel, actively resist authority. It is interesting to notice that this is the only term so far that introduces a reference to the sin of Adam. It was after Adam ate of the Tree of Immortality (shajarat al-khuld) 20.118f. that he "rebelled" against God and "went

astray" v.119, suggesting the Adam's act was sinful because it constituted rebellion against God's will. It is true that in this passage Adam is not specifically commanded not to eat of the Tree but cf.2.33f.

The act, of course, may have been sinful because of the motive out of which it sprang. In v.118 Iblīs offers to guide him not only to the Tree of Immortality but also to "a kingship that grows not old"; i.e. the fruit may have been partaken of in order to become independent of God, and that is the real nature of sin as Christianity understands it. In any case it was the act of rebellion that led Adam astray, implying that until then he had not strayed from the right path. In Islām the Fall seems to be an historical event only, without theological consequences, though traces of a doctrine of original sin remain.

Other instances of "disobedience" in the Qur'ān are Pharaoh's rebellion against Moses 73.16, 79.21, 10.91 (Aaron 20.94 and the Children of Israel also rebelled against him 3.108, 5.82), and that of the people of 'Ād 11.62, Thamūd 11.66, the men of Abraham's day 14.39 and the people to whom Noah was sent 71.20. In this respect the Meccans were no exception 4.45, 58.9.

Unlike fujūr and jurm, the sin expressed by the root ʿasā may be predicated of believers, indeed even prophets were in danger of committing ma'syah against the divine command. It is hinted that there was a considerable amount of ma'syah against Muhammed, see e.g. 3.145. Then again, in 60.12 the remark that believers will not rebel against the Prophet "in what is reasonable" occurs in a list of acts of which the faithful will not be guilty. In 58.10 believers are urged not to let their private discourse be with "disobedience", cf. also 26.216.

As has been remarked ma'syah was a sin of which even prophets



should stand in fear. Concerning John the Baptist the Qur'ān thought it worthwhile to point out that he was not "rebellious". Muḥammed seems to have been conscious of this tendency to rebellion in the heart. E.g. in 6.15 he expresses the fear that he might rebel against his Lord; and in 10.16 where he is being urged to bring a Qur'ān other than the one he is mediating to his generation or to make it more accommodating he answers, "It is not for me to change it of my own accord.....verily I fear if I rebel against my Lord the torment of a mighty day." 39.15 expresses the same fear in another context.

This makes the significance of the words "God makes rebellion hateful to the believers" 49.7 clearer. Disobedience in them would be especially dangerous because it would cause them to err "with obvious error" 33.36. But as far as Muḥammed was concerned the Qur'ān merely expresses the fear of rebellion, while references to the believers in this regard indicate simply the possibility of such a sin and urges them not to commit it.

The references to ma'syah have, in common with other manifestations of sin mentioned in the Qur'ān, no word in respect of pardon. In the nature of the case forgiveness in respect of habitual ma'syah against Allah and the Prophet would be impossible because to rebel would be to place oneself automatically beyond the pale of Islām.

#### SIN AS 'ADĀWAH.

The last term we shall discuss is 'adā. The original meaning of this root seems to be to pass from something, and so to leave or abandon it. An Arabic authority quoted by Lane suggests that the idea of transition was the first meaning that attached to the root, whence came the further thought of pass-

ing beyond or exceeding the limit, and finally transgression in the sense of going beyond the bounds of morality, transgressing what is recognised to be true and right, acting with excessive wrongfulness or in a tyrannical or corrupt manner. It would seem, therefore, that although 'asā and 'adā are closely related in meaning there is, nevertheless, attaching to the latter a moral content that appears to be lacking in the former. The former undoubtedly expresses the idea of rebellion but there is no very pronounced moral flavour imparted to it; the latter does imply moral disobedience, and the Qur'ān takes a more serious view of 'adā than of 'asā.

It is the word used of the transgression of the Sabbath by the Children of Israel, which clearly implies going beyond limits which God has set 2.61, 4.153, 7.163. It is also used of acts which constitute a breach of divine laws regarding divorce 2.229ff. 65.1, and heritable property 4.18. It also has reference to the safeguards of sexual relations 23.7, 70.31. It also expresses transgression of the ancient institutions of the sacred month 2.190. The people of Sodom were a qawm 'adūn, a people who transgress because they exceeded the bounds of ordinary decency and established morality.

The Qur'ān also attaches to this root the idea of enmity, open hostility. Pharaoh was hostile towards the Israelites 10.90, as were the "Hypocrites" against Muhammed 63.4, cf. also 8.62, 4.102. Believers are to expect "foes" among their wives and children 64.14. Satan is an "open enemy" ('aduww mubīn) 2,163 and fourteen other instances. And 6.112 says that Allah has made for every prophet an "enemy" from among the wicked (lit. "devils" of men and jinn), cf. also 25.33.

That the Qur'ān took a serious view is ap

That the Qur'an took a serious view of 'adāwah is suggested in 9.114ff. There Abraham prays that Allah would pardon his father but on learning that the latter was, by virtue of his idolatrous ways v.114f., an "enemy" of God he ceased to pray for him and "cleansed himself from him", declared himself clear of him.

In spite of this serious view of 'adāwah there seems to shine through in 3.98 a certain uneasiness and genuine regret concerning the gulf that separated fellow country men at the religious level, and perhaps a certain assurance that the gulf may not be permanent, that they might yet dwell together in unity in Islām, and that Islām itself might be preserved from the ever present danger of disintegration through sectarianism. This verse recalls with joy "the favours of Allah" towards the believers and continues, "When ye were enemies ('a'dā') and He made friendship between your hearts, and on the morrow ye were by His favour brothers."

It becomes clear that the Qur'ān does not contain an elaborate theory of sin. It would seem that the fundamental view is that sin is a transgression of a command or of a ceremonial prohibition, or a deviation from the right path. The idea of moral pollution is practically absent. A law (sharī'ah) has been given by Allah and contains His absolute will for the believer, and he must not deviate from this sharī'ah. This non-moral concept of sin is also evident from the fact that the criteria of religion in Islām is never essentially moral. It is simply strict obedience to the law. So that in Islām there is no doctrine of salvation in terms of regeneration or a change of heart.

We have seen, however, the extraordinary preoccupation of the Qur'ān regarding forgiveness of sin. Allah through the Prophet



calls men to forgiveness 14.11, 46.30, 71.4,6. There is forgiveness for one who avoids heavy sins and immoral deeds 53.33. God forgives sin and accepts repentance 40.2, He is "the best of forgivers" 7.154, and forgives sins totally 39.54. Kufr will be forgiven if done away with 8.39, but there is no forgiveness for the man who dies an unbeliever or a polytheist 4.51,136, 47.36. He who is "enveloped by his sin" will remain in hell forever

2.75. In the matter of forgiveness Allah remains completely free, "He forgiveth whom He willeth and punisheth whom He willeth" 3.124, and from 39.55, 2.284 it would seem that the Qur'an did not consider the punishment of sin to be necessary.

As a consequence of the absence of the idea of moral pollution in the Qur'an's conception of sin salvation is in its negative aspect largely salvation from hell. It is deliverance from the results of sin by obedience to Allah. Inasmuch as sin in the Qur'an does not involve a taint of nature but only a proneness to wrong action due to the weakness of man its conception of salvation cannot include, as has already been said, the element of regeneration leading to a radical transformation of the character. And, as is well known, Judaism resembles Islam in this regard.

clearly defined or mutually exclusive groups. This threefold manifestation of sin that we have in mind might be exhibited in any one man, but we do suggest that each of the three groups show features that are peculiar to each.

#### MAN AS MUSHRIK.

It would appear that the root sharik was one that operated most commonly in the realm of business transactions, trade agreements, inheritances, etc. The religious significance that attaches to it in the Qur'an is secondary and is confined to

MAN'S MORAL PROBLEM:

SIN AS ERROR.

ITS MANIFESTATION

In our study of the Qur'anic theory of sin we noticed that there were present three leading ideas- deviation, worthlessness and rebellion. We shall now find that these features re-appear in the main manifestations of sin in human character as these are portrayed in the Qur'ān. They find expression in the Mushrikūn, the Mukadhdhibūn and the Kāfirūn. These three classes occupy such a large place in the Qur'ān that no examination of the Qur'anic Doctrine of Man may ignore them; we shall, therefore, inquire into the attitude of the Qur'ān concerning These three distinctive types, although we do not wish it to be understood that we consider these three classes to represent clearly defined or mutually exclusive groups. This threefold manifestation of sin that we have in mind might be exhibited in any one man, but we do suggest that each of the three groups show features that are peculiar to each.

MAN AS MUSHRIK.

It would appear that the root sharik was one that operated most commonly in the realm of business transactions, trade agreements, inheritances, etc. The religious significance that attaches to it in the Qur'ān is secondary and is confined to

one particular idea. Just as one could appoint a sharīk in a business affair so one could attribute to Allah a sharīk in His dominion, a copartner who would actively participate with Him in providence and creation. Anyone who assigned such a place to these associate deities declared his belief in the duality or plurality of gods. This was equivalent to misbelief in Allah as He is portrayed in the Qur'ān though there is ample evidence to show that many of the Mushrikūn believed in Allah as a spiritual reality. But Lane is perhaps right when he remarks that there is a sense in which "kufr is not free from some kind of shirk." Certainly the attribution of a sharīk to Allah may be interpreted to mean belief in a plurality of gods and, in a wider sense, of erroneous belief in Allah.

It is clear from the Qur'ān that idolatry was still rooted in the consciences of the Arabs in Muhammed's day. It is true that the conviction that idolatry in the immediate pre-Islamic period had become largely obsolete and had already been abandoned is widely accepted to-day. It is assumed that the majority hardly believed in anything and that what religious life there was had been degraded into meaningless external forms. Doubtless this is largely true but it may be only partially correct. In antiquity external religious forms are rarely entirely meaningless. And we get the impression from the Qur'ān that in the opposition expressed e.g. in 38.4ff. the Mushrikūn felt that the monotheism of the Qur'ān was aiming what they considered to be a deadly blow at their convictions and at a faith that still meant something to them. We are given another example of the tenacity with which religious beliefs lived on in Arabia in the reactions that followed the violation of the sacred month of Rajab by the attack launched at Muhammed's instigation against



a Meccan caravan at Nakhlah. This violation, which would be closely bound up with the destruction of idols, aroused a good deal of opposition, probably due to fear of the consequences of offending the deities. By accepting the booty from the raid the whole community might become involved in the visitation that the offended deities might send as a reprisal. Dr. Bell in his forthcoming Introduction to the Qur'ān sums up the situation in these words, "Religion.....still exercised much influence in Arabia. But this was probably due to respect for ancient custom rather than to the strength of active belief in the pagan gods" p.8. It is clear that the Qur'ān conceived that idolatry had had a long history. In 34.42 it quotes the men of that generation as saying, "This (Muḥammed) is only a man who wishes to turn you from what your fathers served." The Qur'ān also quotes the other ancient peoples in this regard in similar terms. There is no hint that they knew or remembered any beliefs or practices which are generally associated with monotheism. They always express astonishment when the messengers suggest that they should abandon the gods of their fathers. This, of course, is simply a reflection of the situation that faced Muḥammed in Mecca. In addition to shocked surprise there was the element of bitter opposition to the changes that were being proposed.

It is surprising to find so few references to idols as such in the Qur'ān. It uses three words to describe the concrete objects of worship, wathan (3 times), sanam (3 times) and timthal (twice). The more abstract term 'ilāh has reference to gods in general. The first three terms are used with reference to the idolatry of Abraham's people 29.16, 24, 6.74,

26.71, 21.53. In addition sanam is used of the object worshipped by a people whom the Israelites encountered after their escape from Egypt

7.134. Timthāl describes the images that the jinn made for Solomon 34.12, while wathan is used of the objects worshipped by the Arabs of Muhammed's day. The reference occurs in a verse that urges believers to "avoid the abomination of idols" 22.31.

In addition there is slight evidence in the Qur'ān that men worshipped the celestial bodies. In the story of the conversion of Abraham from polytheism to monotheism 6.76, there is a reference to his worshipping the heavenly bodies. Cf. also 37.86. The Queen of Sheba and her people were sun-worshippers 27.24. The star Sirius is mentioned in 53.50 and we know that that was an object of veneration among pagan Arabs. In his article on The Arabs (Ancient) in The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics Nöldeke points out that up till a comparatively late period pagan Arabs worshipped the heavenly bodies, the sun being held in particular veneration by a number of the tribes. 'Abd Shams was a fairly common name in ancient Arabia. With reference to the veneration shown to Sirius in 53.50 Nöldeke says, "The evidence for the worship of Sirius is not above suspicion"; but there is, on the other hand, sound historical evidence for the worship of Venus among pagan Arabs. The Arabic name for Venus ('Uzza) is found in 53.19, and Nöldeke refers to a Tradition that Muhammed offered a sacrifice to 'Uzza in his younger days. And the Qur'ān found it necessary to command its hearers, "Do obeisance neither to the sun nor to the moon." Clearly the worship of the celestial bodies had a place in the idolatrous practices of the Arabs at least until the days of Muhammed. There are indications too that the Qur'ān conceived that a union

V a 5.

human being might be treated as a god. In 26.28 Pharaoh is reported as saying, "If thou dost choose a god other than me, I will make thee one of the imprisoned." And similarly in 28.38 "I know no god for you except myself." In 5.116 the Qur'ān quotes Allah as saying to Jesus, "O Jesus son of Mary is it thou who didst say to men, take me and my mother for two gods beside Allah?" The most abstract form of idolatry is referred to by the Qur'ān in 25.45, 45.22 where it speaks of the man who takes "as his god his own desire."

The Qur'ān seems to differentiate between two types of idolatry, a) that in which idols alone were worshipped, and b) that which sought to find a place for Allah among the other deities. In the second instance the gods were conceived to be copartners with God. It is, of course, this second type of idolatry with which the Qur'ān is mainly though not exclusively concerned, but it may be worthwhile to glance briefly at the first type too.

Here we are concerned primarily with what might be termed the min dūn verses, and we feel that it is not without significance that in all the references where the term min dūn has relevance to idolatry (there are well over 100 of these verses) the idea of associating Allah with gods, or vice versa, occurs in only six.

40.74 asks the question, "Where is what ye used to associate (as gods) apart from Allah?" On reflection, this is difficult to explain. What do the words mean? Does the associating refer to the bringing together of several gods to form a kind of pantheon? Surely it must since to associate gods with Allah apart from Allah is manifestly absurd. 10.67 refers to those who call upon associate-gods (shurakā') apart from Allah, but again min dūn cancels out any possibility of the association constituting a union



between Allah and the associate-gods. It seems rather to refer to the act of praying to the gods who have been brought into association with each other to the exclusion of Allah. A similar expression occurs in 11.57f. There the Qur'ān quotes the prophet Hūd as saying to 'Ād, "I call Allah to witness, and do ye witness, that I am clear of what ye associate (as gods) apart from Him...." Clearly the association must have reference to the gods only, not to the instituting of a partnership between Allah and the gods.

The only min dūn passage that seems to establish association between Allah and the gods is in 16.37,88. The first reads, "Those who have given (Allah) associates say, 'Had Allah so willed we should not have served anything apart from Him.'" In the second the Qur'ān remarks, "When those who have associated (others with Allah) see their associate-gods, they will say, 'O our Lord, these are our associate-gods upon whom we used to call apart from Thee.'" But the meaning of these two passages is quite clear if we make the association spoken of applicable only to the idols themselves and not to Allah and the gods. The only other verse where min dūn is used in conjunction with the idea of fellowship or union with Allah is 39.4. There the Qur'ān speaks of "those who take patrons ('awliyā') apart from Him (Allah) (on the plea), 'We only serve them that they may bring us near to Allah in intimacy.'" But here again it is clear that although the choosing of patrons was in order to draw near to God it was quite possible to worship the 'awliyā' to the complete exclusion of Allah. We suggest, then, that the above references appear to allude to a type of idolatry from which Allah was rigidly excluded. It was the worship of idols min dūn Allah.

Naturally the Qur'ān adopted an uncompromising attitude toward this exclusive type of idolatry and its implied philosophy of life

and the universe and dismissed it as pure invention. We must not suppose, however, that the Qur'ān reached this conclusion suddenly. We shall see later that that was the result of a gradual development in its religious ideas. It came to realise that the genesis of idolatry was not to be found in a divine revelation as had been the case of the religion founded on the worship of the One true God. Therefore in 30.29 Muslims are urged to set their faces "towards the religion.....the natural religion laid down by Allah which He hath formed the people by nature to follow..... that is the standard religion...."

In contrast to this revealed religion idolatry is an invention of the mind. "Min dūn Allah" men "only serve idols and create a fraud" ('ifk) 29.16. To call upon a god min dūn Allah is senseless because "one has no proof of it" 23.117, one has no proof whether it represents reality or not. Abraham is reported as saying to his father, "What do ye worship? A fake?" ('ifk), and asks in astonishment, "Do ye desire gods apart from Allah?" In 46.27 the gods are referred to as "a lie", an invention. "They are nothing but names" 12.40 and do not represent reality. To serve them is to follow "an opinion" 53.23; it is to serve that of which "they have no knowledge" 22.70. Idolatry is only suspicion and pure conjecture 6.149.

Naturally the Qur'ān went on to maintain that the polytheists had received no authority for the religion which they followed. To worship something min dūn Allah is to do that for which Allah had sent down no authority 12.40, 7.69. The Sleepers in the Cave are reported to have exclaimed, "These people of ours have taken to other gods apart from Him (Allah) though they do not bring any manifest authority for them" 18.14. The Qur'ān throws

out a challenge to the idolaters similar to the one with which Muhammed was confronted when asked to substantiate his claims to be a Messenger of Allah. It asks, "Have they taken gods apart from Him?" And then it commands Muhammed to say, "Bring your proofs" 21.24.

So that in fact the followers of this first type of idolatry had a double challenge to meet, a twofold one that is expressed in 22.70, "They serve min dūn Allah what He has sent down no authority for, and what they have no knowledge of." This was much more difficult than the challenge thrown out to the Apostles of God. Doubtless Muhammed e.g. was embarrassed by the demand for some authority to substantiate his claims, but he could at least prove that he had knowledge of the God whom he was proclaiming, knowledge which emanated from verifiable sources, namely, the signs seen in the orderliness of the universe, and the written revelation that he was mediating to his generation.

But, as already remarked, the type of idolatry with which the Qur'ān was primarily preoccupied was that which attempted to find a place for Allah among the deities. This second type conceived that the latter were copartners with the former in creation, providence, etc. In a late Meccan or early Medinan (so Dr. Bell) passage the Qur'ān sets forth its theory of the origin of idolatry. The persons who figure in this passage (7.189-192) are thought to be Adam and Eve although they are not mentioned by name. The Qur'ān, addressing the men of its own time, tells them that they have been created by Allah from one nafs. From this one person He created a woman with whom the man might dwell. After the woman conceived, and as the foetus became heavier, the man and the woman began to call



upon Allah, and they made the following vow: "If Thou bestowest upon us an upright (son) we shall be of those who show gratitude." Allah answered their prayer, but instead of showing themselves to be grateful they set up sharaka with Allah in what He had bestowed upon them.

That, then, is the origin of idolatry as far as the Qur'ān was concerned. Now if the two people referred to are to be identified with Adam and Eve it means that the Qur'ān conceived that idolatry had had an exceedingly long history. The Qur'ān does not seem to be puzzled by the fact that the worship of Allah the One true God must have died out of the consciousness of man soon after creation, though, of course, this is probably another illustration of the fact that the Qur'ān in particular and the Arabs in general were not historically minded. Doubtless the Qur'ān imagined that the type of idolatry that excluded all recognition of the existence of Allah would develop from the 'original' type which conceived that the divine prerogatives were to be shared out among the associate-gods, the copartners with Allah in creation, providence, etc.

From the point of view of the Qur'ān, therefore, there persisted among mankind a knowledge of Allah although they believed that their idols represented real gods. The Qur'ān suggests that it was this type of idolatry that was practised in earliest times up until the advent of Islām. This was the idolatry the people of Abraham followed 6.80f., and of Noah 7.57, and of the people to whom Hūd 7.63, Ṣāliḥ 7.71 and Shu'ayb 7.83 were sent. The Qur'ān conceives that these prophets were not proclaiming the Name of Allah for the first time. They were preaching against associating other deities with Allah. The people of 'Ad are reported as saying, "Hast thou (Hūd) come to us that we may worship Allah alone?"

V a 10.

7.68. In this connection it has to be pointed out that the references in the Qur'ān to the experiences of other Prophets when they preached to their idolatrous contemporaries are really attempts on the part of the Qur'ān to project into the past the opposition which it was encountering in its own day. The accounts of its predecessors are largely moulded upon Muḥammed's own experiences in a similar situation; so that since these accounts are probably reflexes of what was happening in Muḥammed's time they may be used to throw light on the situation in which he had to work.

The majority of Arabs in pre-Islamic times seem to have been Mushrikūn. In a verse of the Meccan period (Bell) the Qur'ān remarks, "Most of them do not believe in Allah except they associate (others with Him)" 12.106. And in 21.108 the Qur'ān reports Muḥammed as saying that it had been revealed to him that his people's god was one God. This suggests that there was abroad among the Arabs at that time an incipient kind of monotheism. Many were finding their way to belief in one god (ho theos), and what the Qur'ān is saying here is that this god was God (ho THEos) whom Muḥammed was announcing as Allah.

But there were those also who wished to combine the two positions and operate with a kind of syncretism which, of course, was no new phenomenon in human history. In the Old Testament there are traces of attempts by old Israel to syncretise their monotheism with the religious beliefs prevailing among the Canaanites of ancient Palestine, although the paganising movement may not have become articulate until Solomon began to tolerate pagan cults in Jerusalem, and until Jeroboam I. in the north established shrines at Bethel and Dan where Jahweh was represented

by a bull. Syncretism was also a feature of the religious life of Egypt, Mesopotamia and the Hittite empire as the mythological texts of these ancient cultures testify. Cf. Archeology and the Religion of Israel by W.F.Albright, pp 11 and 55. Syncretism was also a feature of the religious beliefs of the Phœnicians. Rome and Greece also attempted to syncretise their cults with those of Isis, Cybele, Mithra and the rest.

Inasmuch as the pagan Arabs believed in Allah they associated particularly creative activity with Allah. They readily agreed that He had created them 43.87, the heavens and the earth 43.8, and the different species 43.11; but they did not see the incongruity involved in sharing with others the worship of Allah who alone created all things. In reality the Arabs seem to have sat loose to religious convictions in general. They were willing to believe that Allah created the heavens and the earth, controlled the celestial bodies and sent down the rain; and when they were on board a ship they would call upon Him and make religion exclusively His (mukhlisīn lahu ad-dīn), but when Allah brought them safe to land they associated others with Him 29.65, 6.63f.

There was also apparently a practice of making sacrifices both to Allah and the associate-deities. These consisted of portions of their crops and livestock 6.137. And we know that this practice was perpetuated in Islām. Cf. e.g. 22.35ff., and notice also the large place given to the Zakāt in Islām. In a very real sense that was reckoned to be an offering to Allah.

It appears that the main reason why the Arabs associated other deities with Allah was that they might have mediators or intercessors who would minister before Allah on their behalf 10.19.

However, the Qur'an came to see that the position represented in



We cannot be sure, of course, whether the reference in this verse to the associate-gods as shufa'ā'ūn (intercessors) reflects the real attitude of the pagan Arabs to Allah or is simply an attempt to explain to themselves and to those who condemned them their associating gods with Allah. Ultimately the whole position of the Mushrikūn made Allah a *primus inter pares*. The fact remains that they did worship other gods along with Allah; ascribing honour e.g. to Manāt, Allāt and <sup>al-</sup>'Uzza who were believed to be daughters of Allah 16.59ff., and this, of course, the Qur'ān would not tolerate. It declared that there was an unresolvable contradiction at the heart of idolatry, therefore a man must choose between the worship of gods and the worship of God. Both were mutually exclusive 27.60-65.

We must, however, guard against the impression that this represents the attitude of the Qur'ān towards idolatry from the beginning. The passage which contains the 'Satanic verses' 53.19ff. is sufficient proof against such a view. These verses, obviously recited as part of the Qur'ān at one time, were occasioned by the growth of opposition that Muḥammed was encountering and represented an attempt to make the faith more accommodating to the Meccans. According to Tradition Muḥammed, after referring to the goddesses al-Lat, al-'Uzza and Manāt by name, added that their "intercession is to be hoped for." Such a concession delighted the Meccans to such a degree that when Muḥammed prostrated himself they all did likewise.

The real significance of the 'Satanic verses' lies in the evidence they provide that at first the monotheism with which the Qur'ān operated was so ill defined that it was not conscious of the incongruity in the recognition of inferior divine beings. However, the Qur'ān came to see that the position represented in

the 'Satanic verses' could issue only in the reduction of Allah to the level of the Banāt Allah and would from the beginning compromise the reform which the Qur'ān was determined to effect. But the point we are concerned to make at the moment is that the Qur'ān did not operate from the start with a clearly defined monotheism. That was reached only gradually, and Dr. Bell in his Introduction to the Qur'ān 106 suggests that the steps in this development were as follows. First, the associate-deities were regarded as mediators. Later they became mere names or inventions. Then because of the influence of the Jews and Christians they became realities again, messengers who were the objects of men's worship. But Dr. Bell confesses that it is not easy to distinguish this latter position from the view held originally. It seems too that the term Mushrikūn was a general designation of polytheists at all periods.

The fact that the Qur'ān was so little occupied with the actual practices of idolatry may be taken as further evidence of the weakening of the hold they had upon the people's loyalties. Had these practices still been very deeply rooted doubtless they would have formed a more prominent preoccupation of the Qur'ān. As it is one finds it impossible from the Qur'ān to form even vague notions of the idolatry of Arabia. The names of the idols are rare and their etymology obscure. What form the sacrifices took, how they were offered, and whether there was a priesthood are questions that cannot be answered from the Qur'ān. Now that circumstance cannot be due to coincidence altogether. It is evidence that the ancient idolatry was loosening its hold as the incipient monotheism made headway among the people. Which suggests further that the movement towards monotheism, however vague it might have been, must have been going on for a long time. Religious

practices and beliefs are among the most tenacious institutions, and perhaps the former more so than the latter because even after a religious conviction has ceased to operate the corresponding religious practice is able to maintain itself. *Idolaters 16.102.*

It is fairly certain that the idol, the concrete object, would not be the real entity worshipped by the pagan Arabs. It would be the spiritual entity behind the image that would loom largest in the thinking of the Mushrikūn. Probably it was imagined that the visible object was pervaded by a divine power by virtue of which it was conceived to exercise a divine influence. It seems that these spirit beings, e.g. the jinn, were not the object of an organised cult though they were worshipped, it being considered that they were to be identified with the Banāt Allah already referred to. A well developed mythology or clearly defined cosmology such as is found among other Semitic peoples was well nigh non-existent among the Arabs, but the existence of these spirit beings was firmly believed in, and the following references from the Qur'ān show that they were worshipped by the people.

On the Judgment Day the angels will deny that men used to worship them, and maintain that it was the jinn who received adoration 34.40. In 6.121 the Qur'ān says that if men obey the shayātīn they will be counted Mushrikūn. In 26.95 "the hosts of Iblīs" are brought into conjunction with what used to be worshipped apart from Allah, and those who indulge in this practice will one day confess that they have been in manifest error in making these spirit beings equal with the Lord of the worlds. In 43.19 men, when questioned about their attitude towards the angels, reply, "Had the Merciful pleased we should never have worshipped them." The Qur'ān also indicates that Shaytān was worshipped by men. In 19.45 Abraham is reported as saying to his idolatrous



father, "Serve not Satan.....I fear that thou mayest be a client of Satan." In 14.27 Satan denies the partnership (with Allah) which men ascribed to him. His power (sultān) extends only to those who take him for a patron, and over the idolaters 16.102. When the Mushrikūn wish to refer judgment to Tāghūt ("a borrowed word, [ethiopic, meaning idols", Bell) this is an attempt on Satan's part to lead them astray 4.63.

In the light of these considerations it becomes certain that in 7.191 the word "created", which refers to what is associated <sup>is</sup> with Allah, to be connected not with the visible objects, the idols, but with the spirit beings conceived to pervade the concrete representation. This point of view also helps us to understand better the speeches of those associated with Allah in worship. If e.g. in 10.29f., 16.88 those who were worshipped as partners with Allah had been the actual idols that men had venerated it would have been difficult to conceive how the images could appear before Allah to deny either that they had been given or that they had welcomed the adoration of men; whereas if the foregoing passages are conceived to refer to the spirit beings they become a little easier to understand and interpret. It also helps us to understand better the sense in which the word "intercessor" is used of those who were worshipped along with Allah. The spirit beings could be thought of as appearing before Allah on behalf of their worshippers.

When discussing that which differentiates Allah from the deities the Qur'ān emphasizes especially the creative power of the former. That, along with His punitive power, really created the gulf between Allah and the associate-gods. This is brought out convincingly in 27.60ff., 28.68ff., 35.1ff. where Allah's power is being contrasted with the weakness of the deities

revered by the idolaters. He also knows the hidden as well as the revealed 23.94, 59.22, 27.66, He is the only judge 12.40, 40.12, and alone causes to die and to live 30.39.

But Allah is infinitely greater than the deities not only because of what He can do but also because of what He is. He is merciful, the King, the Holy, the Giver of peace, the Faithful, the Protector, the Mighty, the Repairer, the Great 59.22ff., and He guides men to the truth 10.35f. Cf. also 6.46. By comparison the deities are only names 12.40. They can neither create nor help, being themselves servants 7.191ff. They can neither cause to die or to live 30.39. They possess nothing and are unable to hear those who call upon them; even if they could they would not be able to answer 35.14f.

The idols are a fake and a falsehood, a pure invention. Therefore to associate them with Allah is to forge a lie against Him. This is so because Allah has sent down no "clear authority" regarding the associate-gods 18.14. The Mushrikun also forged a lie against God when they dedicated certain kinds of camels to the deities because He had not appointed this form of worship 5.102. And to call upon gods in association with Allah was to invent a lie against Him, a falsehood that would be exposed on the Judgment Day when these associate-gods would "stray away" from their devotees 7.35. And to assume that these deities were mediators between God and men was also a lie against Allah because He "knows nothing about" such mediators 10.18f.

The polemic against idolatry in the Qur'an shows us something of what was involved in associating others with Allah. Evidently it implied widely different things. E.g., it involved the belief that Allah had sons and daughters from among the jinn 6.100f.,

72.1ff., and that the associate-gods were equals with the Lord of the worlds 26.98, partners in sovereignty with Allah 17.111. In this association with Allah the deities were conceived to exercise an influence in heaven and on earth 34.21. To call upon them in prayer implied that they shared with Allah the providential care of men. All this is summed up negatively in 25.2 ".....He who hath not taken to Himself offspring, and who hath never had any partner in the kingdom, who hath created everything....." Cf. too 13.17, 27.60ff.

As already stated the genesis of this type of idolatry is to be traced to a desire to "set up partners to Him (Allah) in what He had bestowed" upon a man and his wife, namely a son 7.190; indicating that the Mushrikūn could not believe that Allah was able to create all, and sustain the whole of creation without the assistance of lesser deities. They also wished to ascribe to the latter a share in judgment 18.25, and the power to act as intermediaries who would intercede on behalf of men 10.19. Because of these convictions the Mushrikūn felt obliged to worship the associate-gods, "show piety" to them 16.54, and share with them the worship and the service of Allah 6.163-164a, 18.110, 24.54.

As the Qur'ān became more self-conscious of its position vis-a-vis polytheism, and felt its way gradually towards a purer monotheism, it came finally to realise that there was no common meeting ground on which the Muslims and the Mushrikūn could effect a working compromise. Long before the religious struggle issued in the ultimate triumph of monotheism over polytheism the Qur'ān must have realised that they were mutually exclusive, but it is interesting to trace the development of the opposition of the Qur'ān towards idol<sup>a</sup>try.



A study of the passages which are considered to provide a summary of the original message preached by Muḥammed shows that the religious practices of the Mushrikūn were not a pre-occupation of the Qur'ān in the earliest days. Indeed in the group<sup>1</sup> of passages in question there is only one verse that refers to idolatry, and even that is in a sūrah which authorities consider to be only partially relevant to "the original prophetic kerygma"; so that perhaps this one verse (it reads, "Or have they a god other than Allah? Glory be to Allah, far above what they associate (with Him)" 52.43.)<sup>2</sup> may quite legitimately be treated as not belonging to "the primary message of the Qur'ān". It is significant too that it contains the only reference to idolatry in these early passages.

However, even after having said that, it must be pointed out that in fact the whole future position of the Qur'ān vis-à-vis polytheism is already present in embryonic form in these original passages. The power of Allah manifested in His creative activity, His kindness revealed in His providential care of His creatures, the certainty that all men must appear before Him for judgment, and the demand in the Name of Allah for the worship and the gratitude of men made the uncompromising attitude on the part of the Qur'ān towards the Mushrikūn inevitable.

But at the beginning the Qur'ān was probably only vaguely aware of the irreconcilable conflict between monotheism and polytheism. Inasmuch as it was aware of the conflict it may have decided, for

---

1. 2.172, 6.152-4, 7.25-31, 9.72, 10.104-8, 13.19-25, 16.92-3, 17.23-42, 22.76-8, 23.1-9, 25.64-74, 29.44-5, 31.11-12, 15-16, 32.15-16, 42.34-40, 48.29, 60.12, 70.22-34.

2. It ought to have been pointed out earlier that the 'min dūn' passages are generally late.

the sake of expediency, to keep it in the background. Be that as it may time was when the Qur'ān included the Mushrikūn in a list of those who held different religious positions (the list included Muslims, Jews, Sabaeans, Christians and the Magians), remarking that Allah would "distinguish between them on the Day of the Resurrection," 22.17. Dr. Bell is unable to assign a specific date to this verse and the preceding with any degree of certainty; but it is interesting to compare 22.17 (which may be early Medinan) with 2.59 and 5.73 which also contain a list of religious communities. 2.59 is an "early Medinan scrap" (Bell), while 5.73 is included in "scraps of various dates" (Bell), but in neither are the Mushrikūn included in the lists that are given.

The time came when the Qur'ān felt obliged to challenge the polytheists to "produce their associate-gods" 68.41, 34.26, and to describe the latter as "mere names" 12.40. They neither hear nor see nor profit 19.43, "they create nothing.....nor have they in their power death or life or resurrection" 25.3f. Cf. also 7.191, 21.52ff. Nevertheless "the Mushrikūn were not to be cast off until there should come to them the evidence" 98.1. But after the truth of God had come to them the Apostle was to be "free of all responsibility" for them as Abraham had declared himself to be when he saw that his idolatrous father would not renounce idolatry 9.115. Cf. also 6.19.

The opposition of the Qur'ān towards the polytheists became more pronounced as time passed, and gradually the possibility of a compromise became more remote. In the eyes of the Qur'ān the Mushrikūn were "the friends of Satan" 4.78 (to be dated "some time after Uhud" Bell), and the people of Allah were to "avoid the pollution (rijs) of idols" 22.31. Muhammed is commanded to say,

"Serve Allah, making Him the exclusive object (mukhlis lahu) of religion" 39.2. Wherever the polytheists refused to abandon Tāghūt the faithful were to break completely with them. In 15.94, which probably belongs to the Medinan period, the Prophet is commanded to "turn from the idolaters."

In parts of surah 9 which deal with the denunciation of the Treaty of Hdaybiyah it is said explicitly that the "renunciation" of the polytheists with whom covenants had been made is "by Allah and His messenger" 9.1,3. In 9.17 we are told that "it is not for the Mushrikūn to visit (as religious pilgrims) the mosques of Allah." Here, then, the Mūminūn are breaking off all negotiations with the polytheists and banning them from the Ka'bah. 9.36 commands the Muslims to "fight against the polytheists continuously." In 24.3 the Qur'ān announces that "the fornicator shall not marry anyone but a fornicatress or an idolatress, nor shall anyone but a fornicator or an idolater marry a fornicatress." "The servants of Tāghūt" are among those "whom Allah has cursed, against whom He is angry" 5.65. The reason why the Mushrikūn are to be banned from the Ka'bah is given in 9.28, they are "simply filth" (najas). Worse terms of abuse could hardly have been found.

For the polytheists there was no hope of divine pardon. In surah 4 this assurance is given twice: "Allah will not forgive the association of anything with Himself, though He forgives anything short of that to whom He willeth" vv.51,116. The Christians by virtue of the belief that "Allah is the Messiah son of Mary" declare themselves Mushrikūn, and for them "Allah hath made the Garden inaccessible", "their resort is the Fire".

And the man who believes in the unity of Allah must make his renunciation of idolatry complete. The Qur'ān repeats several



times that mūminūn are "those who with their Lord join no partner" or some such cognate idea 23.59-62, 30.30, 6.152, 7.31, 60.12. Probably the repetition is significant and may reflect a fear of a relapse into idolatry. After all the Jews had said, "O Moses, make for us a god" 7.134-136, and Abraham had felt the need to pray, "O Lord.....keep me and my sons from serving the idols" 14.38, and there were evidences that even the Prophet had oscillated between truth and error. The Qur'ān found it necessary to urge him not to let men turn him aside from the signs of Allah, and to "call (men) to thy Lord, and be not one of the polytheists. Invoke not with Allah any other god....." 28.87f., and "be not in dubitation of what these people serve; they only serve as their fathers served before them" 11.111.

Probably the Qur'ān recognised that ultimately the acceptance of the unity of Allah and the rejection of idols constituted an act of faith. Even the Prophet had not reached the truth of the unity of Allah by the aid of his own native ingenuity. That was of the nature of truth that had to be "given", it could not be "discovered". In 41.5 the Qur'ān reports Muḥammed as saying, "It is revealed to me (or I am inspired) that your god is one God." Cf. too 18.110, 6.106, 21.25. Other prophets had had similar experiences, which again may be simply reflexes of Muḥammed's own convictions. E.g. Noah is quoted in 7.60, "I know from Allah what you know not." So also Abraham, "Verily to me has come knowledge which has not come to thee" 19.44.

This suggests that it must have been excessively difficult to convince their contemporaries that their message was true and constituted a divine revelation. To Muḥammed's materialistically minded age such an abstract truth as the essential unity of Allah and all the revolutionary consequences which its acceptance in-

volved would be a very real rock of offence. The old religious position was so easily understood, so much more simple than this spiritual abstraction which Muhammed was preaching.

But even after full account has been taken of this factor one cannot help feeling that it does not explain fully the deep rooted antagonism which the Qur'ān encountered for so long. If there was such a widespread feeling of malaise concerning the traditional faith it does seem strange that the Arabs were so reluctant to accept the new faith. May it not have been due in part to the fact that surrender to Allah involved surrender to Muhammed? The pagan Arabs did not fight the Muslims in order to perpetuate the old faith. They had long since realised that they had been "suckled in a creed outworn". Much of the antagonism towards the new faith originated in personal dislike of the firm rule of Muhammed, and, perhaps, in the realisation that when the old faith collapsed the material advantages which ownership (or control) of the Ka'bah had bestowed upon the Meccans would disappear.

This last point, however, must not be exaggerated. Ibrahah the Abyssinian viceroy in the Yemen had thought that if the commercial domination of the Meccans was to be destroyed the Ka'bah must be demolished. He was, of course, mistaken. With the growth of Muhammed's power all the shrines were destroyed with the exception of the Ka'bah but it was proved that their desertion did not lead to the general ruin of Meccan trade. A great deal of that commerce was independent of the visit of the Nomads to the Ka'bah and the other sanctuaries.

The main reason for the Meccan antagonism towards the new faith was the political significance attaching to Muhammed's claim to be a Prophet. It is true that the Qur'ān notices the crimes which exercised a real influence upon the circumstances in which he lived out

associated with Arabian polytheism; e.g. killing children 6.138, observing food taboos 6.139f., 16.58, despising children of female sex 16.60f., ascribing daughters to Allah 16.59, but what the Qur'an is most conscious of is their "proud attitude" to the new faith 37.34, their refusal to abandon their gods "on account of a crazy poet" 37.35. In 19.84 the Qur'ān remarks that the Meccans "take gods apart from Allah that they (the gods) may give them (the Meccans) dignity ('izz)". Probably Muḥammed's chief opponents came from the influential people of Mecca 7.64, 11.29, 23.24, 38.5, cf. 23.33f. They felt that Muḥammed was aiming at authority and prestige, though in 38.86 the Qur'ān rebuts this charge. The stone of stumbling was that Muḥammed was a nobody. Why should he set up as a prophet and make pretensions to authority? That his contemporaries were correct is proved by the emergence of a state within a state at Medinah, but in the circumstances that was inevitable. Clearly there was a political factor in the opposition of the polytheists. It was not a question of intellectual difficulties, though for some that too would be an element in the situation.

Before closing this section we must take cognizance of the fact that in the Arabia contemporary with the Qur'ān many had already begun to think in terms of abstract Deity and to formulate a more satisfactory concept of God. Nöldeke in his article on The Arabs (Ancient) in The Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, to which reference has already been made, points out that a number of the pagan gods really stood for the personification of abstract ideas in spite of the fact that they were represented in concrete fashion. He argues that the Arabs clearly recognised the existence and activity of certain powers that were conceived to exercise a real influence upon the circumstances in which men lived out



their lives. Whether a man enjoyed good fortune or met with ill fortune was supposed to be decided by these unseen powers. The words, "There is nothing in this present life of ours; we die and we live, and it is only Time (dahr) which destroys us" shows that in pre-Islamic times men were accustomed to think of abstract ideas such as time in terms of deity. in the universe. The main

This point may further be connected with the abstract ideas represented by such words as dahr, zaman and 'ayyā which were associated with Allah in the thinking of the ancient Arabs. Perhaps the time came when Time and Fate were thought of as being "attributes" of Allah. However that may be we have noticed that there is evidence to suggest that although idolatrous practices had not fallen into complete desuetude they had ceased seriously to influence the lives of the people. And doubtless the dissemination of such ideas as has just been referred to would contribute to this change in the religious life of the people. supreme God-

All In addition the wear and tear of nomadic life, the influence of more advanced and venturesome spirits who had by natural intellectual advance outgrown the now outmoded traditional beliefs, and the undoubted influence of Judaism and Christianity were all contributory factors in the weaning of the Arabs from the veneration of the deities. The latter influence would be particularly important because the Arabs had lived in contact with Jews and Christians over a long period of time, there having been settled communities of the adherents of these two monotheistic faiths. In addition the wealth and civilisation of the Christian lands surrounding Arabia would tend to render the Arab mind more friendly disposed towards the religious beliefs that prevailed there. Jews too would dispose people towards monotheism and gradually the hold of the ancient faith loosened. In Mecca there were

motives for preserving the customary rites but in Medinah paganism seems to have disappeared.

We must remember too that the primary message of the Qur'ān could be understood only by men who had already reached the conviction that Allah existed and that He in some vague fashion represented the sole spiritual reality in the universe. The main task of the Qur'ān was not to convince the Meccans that Allah existed but to persuade them that the lesser deities whom they associated with Allah did not represent reality and to communicate to them a purer and more spiritual concept of the Deity whom they already knew and revered. It is difficult to see how the Qur'ān could have succeeded (as it did finally) in this dual task had the ground not been prepared beforehand over a fairly long period of time, first by the weakening of faith in the ancient deities, and secondly by the almost unconscious growth of religious convictions that began to centre round the proper Name of the supreme God—Allah.

Probably there were, here and there, small unobtrusive communities of men professing some form of monotheism that was an outgrowth of Greek philosophy, and perhaps the well known term hanīf should be connected with such lesser known religious factors in the situation prevailing in Arabia before Muḥammed's call to be a prophet. There are twelve verses<sup>1</sup> where the word hanīf occurs (the masc. plur. form is used in two of these) and it is significant that in all but two of these reference is made to idolatry. In the opinion of the Qur'ān there was clearly a close link between the two ideals in spite of the fact that they were mutually exclusive.

---

1. 2.129, 3.60,89, 4.124, 6.79,162, 10.105, 16.121,124, 22.32, 30.29, 98.4.

The root hanaf means to incline to or decline from. In the Qur'anic sense therefore the word would mean to incline to hanifiyah (the religion of Abraham) and to decline from the worship of idols. Later hanifiyah was one of the terms by which the religion of Islām was known. The same root occurs in Hebrew but its use there was confined to the negative sense of turning away or declining from the right path, adopting an irreligious or profane way of life. The root is used in this sense in Syriac and the adjectival form means heathen or apostate. In Arabic hanif means exclusively one who inclines to a right state, especially to the true religion, Islām.

In the Meccan period hanif meant monotheist and was used in contradistinction to mushrik. In the later period it was given a much more specific content and was used with special reference to Abraham in order to emphasize the Qur'ān's conviction that he was neither a Jew nor a Christian but a monotheist 3.60. It was because of this desire to disconnect Abraham with these two monotheistic faiths that he was brought into such close contact with idolatry. What the Qur'ān is concerned to say is that when Abraham turned from idolatry he was returning to the original monotheism from which men had declined, 30.29. He became a follower of the religion founded by Allah.

In this ingenuous way Islām was detached from Judaism and Christianity and identified with original monotheism, the religion established by Allah 42.11ff. It was because of this that the Qur'ān could describe Abraham as a Muslim 3.60, and could argue that Islām was not another new religion spun out of the imagination of Muḥammed, that it was in fact the only true religion, the original monotheism. And this was why the Qur'an could also urge Jews and Christians to turn from their



respective faiths to the original one which they had 'corrupted' 98.4. To do so would be to "follow the creed of Abraham" 3.89. The fact that Abraham was the tribal father of the Arabs made him a specially qualified symbol of the new religion. This religion of Abraham was equivalent to a declaration of independence on the part of Islām inasmuch as by it Muhammed emancipated himself from dependence upon the Jewish and Christian faiths and provided himself with an authority for his revelation which the attacks of Jews and Christians could not destroy.

### MAN AS MUKADHDHIL.

The next specific manifestation of evil that we have to consider is that which becomes prominent in the Mukadhdhūn. Speaking very generally the root kadhāb denotes unbelief, but unbelief in a distinct sense. It is kufr in the sense of counting false; and because unbelief in this particular context is given this distinctive flavour it has to be differentiated from kufr as unbelief contrasted with īmān.

Lane supplies no fewer than five different shades of meaning of the root kadhāb but of these only three have any relevance to our immediate purpose. (1) Altering what one hears, or relating what one has heard as if it had originated with oneself when, in fact, one did not know of it previously. (2) Saying what is untrue either by mistake or unintentionally; i.e. to make a mistake, to err. (3) Something proving to be vain or false which was thought to be well founded; e.g. one's hopes, dreams, or opinions. It is also used of lightning which has given false promise of rain. To all intents and purposes the use of kadhāb in the Qur'an is confined to these three shades of meaning.

## CHAPTER FIVE

When the Mukadhdhibun said that certain things were lies and certain persons were liars, or when they "forged lies against God", they were perhaps not telling 'simple lies' but rather attempting

### MAN'S MORAL PROBLEM:

to mislead by trickery, as a modern conjurer misleads by inducing people to 'see' what in fact they do not see at all. Perhaps too

### SIN AS ERROR.

when the Qur'an used the root kadhab it had in mind the idea of hypnotism. These three possible shades of meaning, in addition

to that of the 'simple lie' present in the Qur'an. See e.g. 83.11,13, 40.25.

### ITS MANIFESTATION

In 83.11 the Mukadhdhibun "count false the Day of Judgment".

### MAN AS MUKADHDHIB.

misrepresentation or deliberate trickery is at a minimum, if it is conceived to be present at all. But when

The next specific manifestation of evil that we have to consider is that which becomes prominent in the Mukadhdhibun.

Speaking very generally the root kadhab denotes unbelief, but unbelief in a distinct sense. It is kufr in the sense of counting false; and because unbelief in this particular context is given this distinctive flavour it has to be differentiated from kufr as unbelief contrasted with iman.

Lane supplies no fewer than five different shades of meaning of the root kadhab but of these only three have any relevance to our immediate purpose. (1) Altering what one hears, or relating what one has heard as if it had originated with oneself when, in fact, one did not know of it previously. (2) Saying what is untrue either by mistake or unintentionally; i.e. to make a mistake, to err. (3) Something proving to be vain or 'false' which was thought to be well founded; e.g. one's hopes, dreams, or opinions. It is also used of lightning which has given false promise of rain. To all intents and purposes the use of kadhab in the Qur'an is confined to these three shades of meaning.

When the Mukadhdhibūn said that certain things were lies and certain persons were liars, or when they "forged lies against God", they were perhaps not telling 'simple' lies but rather attempting to mislead by trickery, as a modern conjuror misleads by inducing people to 'see' what in fact they do not see at all. Perhaps too when the Qur'ān used the root kadhab it had in mind the idea of hypnotism. These three possible shades of meaning, in addition to that of the 'simple' lie, may be present in the Qur'ān. See e.g. 83.11,13, 40.25.

In 83.11 the Mukadhdhibūn "count false the Day of Judgment". Here the element of misrepresentation or deliberate trickery is at a minimum, if it is conceived to be present at all. But when in 83.13 they describe the signs that are being recited as "old world tales" ('asātīr 'l-awwalīn) they infer that those signs are a deliberate attempt to mislead them. The same element is present in 36.13f. where "the fellows of the city" called the two apostles "liars". I.e. the two 'men' were thought merely to be posing as apostles, and by their imposture, claiming to be angels when in fact they were 'mortals', they endeavoured to mislead the city's inhabitants. In 2.81 the Qur'ān retorts that the Mukadhdhibūn are themselves guilty of insincerity because they are in reality convinced that the claims of the apostles are true but because the latter bring them "what they do not like" they are met with scorn and dismissed as liars.

Lying, in terms of hypnotism (or similar phenomena), may be inferred from several passages. It is in this sense perhaps that 40.25f. is to be understood. When Moses had authenticated his claim to be an apostle by producing "signs" he was charged with being "an enchanter, a liar" (sāhīr kadhdhāb, a wizard, one who does something that they did not like. In 54.3 it was determined



deludes. Cf. 38.3 where Muḥammed also is called a sāḥir kadhdhāb. Originally the root sahar meant to turn someone from his course or way, then, by extension, to turn someone from his course by means of enchantment, by exercising an undue fascination over him; hence it has come to mean to delude, beguile, outwit, circumvent someone. The sāḥir is an enchanter because he makes what is false appear to be true, he causes people to imagine that an object is different from what it really is, he produces what is false under the form of truth.

Probably most of the references to 'magic' in the Qur'ān have at the back of them the meaning of trick, something that is not genuine, especially those that refer to Muḥammed as a sāḥir. It is possible that these have particular reference to the processes of revelation where Muḥammed was concerned.

Moses also was charged with being a sāḥir 40.25. Cf too 20.58-74. Note particularly v.72 where the distinction between "a magician's trick" (kayd sāḥir) and a real sign is implied, a distinction which the Egyptian saharah recognised. To reduce one of God's signs to the level of trickery was to make the true false.

The splitting of the moon in 54.1ff. which is offered as a sign is also dismissed as "magic" (sihr); then follows the remark, "They call it (the sign) a lie". These verses then suggest that in the Qur'ān "a lie" was the means used to mislead, delude. It is interesting to notice that in 54.3 there is found the same association of ideas as in 2.81 to which reference has already been made.

The attitude of the Mukadhdhibūn to the signs was determined by a state of heart. In 2.81 it was determined by the preaching of something that they did not like. In 54.3 it was determined

by the fact that "they followed their lusts". These verses seem to suggest that when the Mukadhdhibūn rejected the signs they knew that they wererejecting what was true. They dismissed the signs as sihr and the apostle as sāhir because they were not willing to face all that was involved in an acceptance of Muḥammed as a prophet. "to forge a lie against God" occurs some twenty-

We are also told in 38.4 that his generation called Muḥammed a sāhir kadhdhāb because they were unwilling to forsake their deities. So in fact it was they who were insincere. Both their language and their motives were dishonest therefore the term kadhdhāb was perhaps more applicable to them than to the apostles. If they were really convinced that the message preached by the apostles, and the signs which they brought, were true their rejection of these, motivated by prejudice and self-interest, demonstrated that they were intellectually dishonest. We shall see too that the Mukadhdhibūn were extremely numerous and deeply committed to the continuance of the status quo.

There is a hint in 73.11 that the Mukadhdhibūn lived in easy circumstances. We find them referred to as "prosperous" ('ulī 'n-na' mah, rich in the pleasures of this life). When, therefore, the Qur'ān describes them as those who follow their lusts 6.151, and who find in the new faith that which their souls do not love, it is fairly certain that undue attachment to the good things of this life would motivate their rejection of Islām.

In seeking to determine what the Qur'ān meant by kadhib (a lie) we must take into account another phrase that is frequently used with reference to the Mukadhdhibūn, "to forge a lie against God" ('aftara 'lā 'llah kadhib). In its simplest form the verb means to measure, cut or manufacture something. In the eighth form it means to fabricate, to forge a lie or falsehood. The same associa-

tion of ideas is found in English. To forge is to form into a shape, but a statement may also be forged in the sense that it is a fabrication, a misrepresentation, especially where the statement implicates another person. In that case the fabrication may become a libel or slander.

The phrase, "to forge a lie against God" occurs some twenty-three times and is used in a variety of ways and with reference to different groups of people. We have already noticed that it has reference to the Mushrikūn and is there placed in direct relation to idolatry 10.18f., 18.14, 5.102, 7.35. The remaining nineteen references provide us with some interesting reflections and may be said to throw light on the Qur'ān's use of kadhib.

The phrase occurs in 11.21 and Dr. Bell thinks that the people whom the Qur'ān has in view here are the Jews. Later in this verse those who are guilty of forging a lie against God are referred to as those "who lied about their Lord" (kadhabū 'alā rabbihih) which implies that the phrase "to forge a lie against God" simply means to lie about God. What the lie was that the Jews? uttered against God on this occasion is not certain but the context would suggest that it concerned unbelief in the signs, or in the "truth" from the Lord v.20. We assume therefore that they believed that the signs were forgeries and unworthy of credence. From the Qur'ān's point of view, then, the Jews were forging a lie against Allah who had given the signs to the Prophet.

In 72.5 the Qur'ān expresses the view that neither men nor jinn "will speak against God what is false". Now this phrase, which may be a variation of the more common expression "to forge a lie against God", is attributed to the People of the Book in 3.69. It would appear from this passage that the Jews did not fulfil the terms of certain commercial agreements into which they had entered



with "the common people", the Arabs. The reason for this failure is given by the Jews themselves, "We are not open (to punishment) in regard to the common people." This sentiment of unfriendliness, and the disdainful manner in which the Jews speak of the 'ummiyyīn, and their failure to observe the code that governed the commercial life of the day are all interpreted as forging a lie against God.

The Jews are again accused of speaking falsehood about God in 3.72. Here Dr. Bell understands that the subject under discussion is the Jews' oral law. And the lie which they speak about God is that of claiming that their oral law "is from Allah" and is "a part of the Book". To say such a thing, the Qur'an conceives, is a lie, and since the lie is concerned directly with God it is a falsehood about Him. Here the word libel would seem to accord well with the sentiments expressed since it concerns a direct misrepresentation of God.

The same sentiments are attributed to the Jews in 3.88 only in this instance they have reference to certain foodlaws among the Jews. The Jews are invited by the Qur'an to produce evidence for these from the Tōrah. If they cannot, then to "invent falsehood about Allah after that" is to prove that they are wrongdoers (zālimūn).

The invention of a falsehood against God is again referred to in 61.7 and here it is against the Jews that the charge is repeated. In v.6 Jesus announces to them the coming of a messenger named Ahmad. Jesus son of Mary substantiated His message by signs but the Jews dismissed these, calling them "manifest sorcery". The charge, then, in v.7 that the Jews forged a lie against Allah may have reference to their rejection of the claims of Jesus, or to the coming messenger Ahmad mentioned in v.6. The probability is

that the Qur'ān has the prophet Ahmad in mind. It is well known that Muhammed identified himself with this particular messenger; and in any case the Qur'ān goes on in v.7 to speak of those who invent falsehood against God as a people who have been "called unto Islām". A rejection of that call implied a rejection of Muhammed's claim to be the prophet whose coming Jesusson of Mary had foretold. It was equivalent to saying that that prophecy was false. *... to Himself a son, and second, in claiming divine* That primarily; but the imputation lying behind the accusation that Jesus dabbled in sorcery in order to produce his signs was that his signs were lies; and that also would be part of the falsehood that the Jews uttered against God. The Qur'ān claimed that in fact God had been actively involved in the signs of Jesus and in the prophecy concerning Muhammed's appearing and in the new faith of Islām. A rejection of these was equivalent to saying that these were all false, and to say that was to forge falsehood against Allah. The same set of ideas is expressed 6.20f. where again it is the Jews who are under discussion.

In 20.63 the phrase, to forge a lie against God, is addressed to Pharaoh with reference to his accusing Moses of dabbling in magic when he produced his signs. When Pharaoh promises to produce similar magic on an appointed day Moses accuses him of resorting to stratagem (kayd) and it is this "arranging of stratagem" that the Qur'ān describes as devising falsehood against Allah, meaning perhaps trying to deceive God by trickery and magic. Moses pleads with Pharaoh not to have recourse to such stratagems because he who forges is always disappointed (khāb). *... instances the honour*

The Qur'ān also accuses the Christians of forging a lie against God. It concerns a claim to divine authority (sultān) for a

statement which they make. They have been saying that "God has taken to Himself a son". This assertion the Qur'ān denies, and adds, "Ye have no authority for this! Will ye say against God that which ye do not know?" And then follows the remark that "those who forge a lie against God will not prosper." Clearly in this context the phrase has to be understood in terms of blasphemy or slander, first, in making the statement that God has taken to Himself a son, and second, in claiming divine authority to substantiate the statement. Here one is instinctively reminded of the Old Testament warning against taking God's name in vain. In 16.107 those who do not believe in God's signs are also said to be forgers of falsehood and there the lie which they have invented would be that of calling the truth falsehood, saying that the signs were not from God nor did they manifest God's power and were, therefore, lies. The whole verse expresses the Qur'ān's deep concern on this point, "It is really those who do not believe in the signs who invent falsehood, and they are the liars."

In 7.87 the Qur'ān indicates that the falsehood in question which is being invented against God is that of returning to a false faith from which God has rescued the believers (in this instance the followers of the prophet Shu'ayb who was sent to Midian). To return to the old faith from which Allah had rescued one would be to proclaim (a) that the old faith was true and the new false, and (b) that Allah had led one astray when He led one out of the old faith into the new. To do this would be to fabricate a lie against Allah. In both instances the honour of God would have been involved.

In 6.145, which referred originally to the Meccans, tells us



why the latter devised a lie against God. It was in order "to lead the people astray without knowledge." Cf. also 2.8, though this latter verse refers to the "Arab waverers in Medinah" (Bell). Here the context suggests that the lie forged against God concerned the food-taboos. Cf. also 10.61, 16.117 where again it is a question of food-taboos observed by the Meccans. By establishing these taboos as a divinely appointed institution the Qur'ān considered that the leaders were foisting on an ignorant people, in the name or on the authority of the Deity, what was in fact an imposture. In doing so they were fabricating a lie against God. And the unsuspecting people, being "without knowledge", had no means of judging aright the hoax which (from the Qur'ān's point of view) was being played upon them.

The remainder of the passages where the phrase, to forge a lie against God occurs, concerns the Medinans. It should be pointed out that in addition to the remaining verses the passage in 16.107 (referred to on p.8 of this section) also refers to the Medinans. 23.40 is of interest because it seems to imply that the charge of forging a lie against Allah is brought against Muḥammed by the men of his own generation. The passage is thought to be early Medinan but adapted from the story of Thamūd (Bell). In the preceding verses Muḥammed is described as only a mortal. Reference is also made to the resurrection and the judgment which are denied categorically by the people who assert that "there is only our life in the world", there is no Hereafter, no resurrection; adding, "He is only a man who forges a lie against God." Then the Qur'ān reports Muḥammed in prayer saying, "My Lord! help me for they call me a liar." In this case the Mukadhdhibūn say that Muḥammed, by preaching in God's name, and by claiming divine authority for his message, is forging lies against God, or

imputing lies to God. said to be exempt from complicity. The

In 34.8 the phrase occurs once again in connection with the Medinans. This verse should be taken in conjunction with 23.40 because there the charge against Muhammed is identical, and the circumstances in which it is made are the same. The lie that is being forged against God is the claim to have received His authority for preaching the resurrection. So antagonistic are the opponents of the Qur'ān that they declare that if such teaching is not a lie forged against God then he who teaches it must be possessed by a jinn. In these two references the phrase might even be understood in terms of blaspheming God in the sense that one is spreading slanderous doctrine in God's name.

In 42.23 the Medinans make the same charge against Muhammed indirectly. In v.22 the Qur'ān says that Muhammed expects no return for the work to which he has been called except "love towards the kinfolds" (al-mawaddah fī 'l-qurbā), which may be a plea by the Qur'ān for kindly treatment for Muhammed's family. Then comes the reference to the charge that Muhammed invents lies about God, to which the Qur'ān replies that if such be the case Allah will choose another medium through which to communicate truth to men. Here again the phrase under discussion means spreading false teaching and claiming divine authority to substantiate it.

Two main points arising from this review of the foregoing passages require to be noticed. First, it will have been seen that in this particular use of the root kadhab the Qur'ān emphasizes the active opposition of the Jews; but it will be found later, when we examine the passages where the root is used in a more general sense, that the opposition of the Jews is at a minimum. Indeed so few are the references to Jewish influence in this re-

gard that they may be said to be exempt from complicity. The Christians are also rarely if ever referred to in the general use of kadhāb, and only once in the foregoing passages. It will have been noticed that the Meccans and Medinans predominate in the verses already referred to, and now in what follows it will be found that they are again prominent. Apparently it was they who were the Mukadhdhibūn, speaking generally, with emphasis on the latter rather than on the former.

Second, the phrase to forge a lie against God has particular reference to the signs that a prophet brought and/or to the contents of his message. That is where the Qur'ān lays the emphasis in its use of this phrase. And we know, of course, that it was concerning these two points that Muḥammed encountered so much opposition. It is remarkable that the question of revelations is not referred to. One would have expected the Meccans and the Medinans to treat these as fabrications both from the point of view of the method of communication, and the contents. But it has already been suggested that the references to sorcery where Muḥammed is concerned may refer to the processes by which the revelations were communicated. But 34.8, which suggests that Muḥammed was jinn-possessed, may be significant here.

Another striking fact emerges. The Mukadhdhibūn are nowhere charged with treating as a lie the statement that Allah exists. Which reminds us again that the Qur'ān's task was not to convince its generation that Allah existed. What the Meccans were not prepared to do was to accept Muḥammed as a prophet. The political implications of such a claim were too far reaching. Hence any signs that were produced to substantiate that claim were dismissed as lies, attempts to trick men into accepting the prophet and his claims.



In addition they were unwilling to believe that beside Allah other deities were nonentities, that there would be a resurrection and a judgment day, and that man was both dependent upon and morally accountable to Allah. And yet belief in the essential unity of Allah as taught by the Qur'ān and as held by numbers among the Meccans made these convictions self-evident. This is perhaps succinctly summed up in 40.29 where "a believer of Pharaoh's people" is reported by the Qur'ān as saying to the monarch, "Will ye kill a man for saying, 'My Lord is God' when he has come to you with manifest signs from your Lord?" Now when the Qur'ān reports these words, "My Lord is Allah" it reminds us once again of the Greek usage of theos, viz., ho theos (the god), and Ho THEOS (God). Is there, we wonder, such a distinction implicit here in the Qur'ān's words, "My Lord is Allah"? Even if the equivalent of ho theos was in mind when "my Lord" was mentioned "Allah" would stand for Ho THEOS. Is it not permissible to read into this remark in 40.29 part of the message that the Qur'ān was delivering to its own generation? And may not the two words, rabbī Allah, crystallise in the simplest possible formula the struggle between monotheism and polytheism?

The two principal categories that the Mukadhdhibūn treated as lies were the signs, and the apostles. In many cases, however, it was not the actual signs that were called falsehoods because they were there for all to see. What the Mukadhdhibūn probably objected to was the interpretation of the signs offered by the apostles, viz., that Allah was Almighty and that men would be raised from the dead to be judged by Hām, etc.

In 6.156f. the sign referred to is "the Book" revealed to Muḥammed. There men are accused of counting the signs of Allah

false; i.e. treating the claims and teaching of the Qur'ān as lies. The further accusation, that they shun (yasdifūn) these signs, is made. 10.18 is also concerned with dismissing a Qur'an as false. Cf. too 6.66 where in reply to the charge that the Qur'ān is false, it is said, "It is the truth". In this connection surah 77 is important because it lists quite a number of signs to which the apostles pointed in order to elicit faith from their hearers. The chief one is the Judgment Day and the phenomena that will accompany it. In addition there are the calamities that overtook peoples in the past. After referring to other signs the surah ends, "In what kind of new discourse will they believe in after that?" Implying that if they dismiss such signs as these as false, and refuse to believe in a surah such as seventy-seven, there is little hope of the Mukadhdhibūn ever coming to salvation.

The signs that Moses brought in order to substantiate his claims before Pharaoh seem to have been of three different kinds. There were first of all natural phenomena 20.55ff. E.g., the paths along which men travel, the rain, the plants and cereals, the creation of man, his return to earth at death, and his resurrection from the same 20.57. These demonstrated to Pharaoh the power of God in whose name Moses had come. That these natural phenomena were manifestations of the power of Allah was brought home to Pharaoh in a striking fashion when "the years (of dearth) and scarcity of fruits" befell him and his people 7.127. Along with these signs have to be considered those of "the flood, and the locusts, and the lice, and the frogs, and the blood" 7.130 because they too would convince Pharaoh that Allah was almighty and could take vengeance upon him 7.132.

Another type of sign that Moses brought to Pharaoh included

the changing of his staff into a serpent and the changing of the colour of his hand 7.102ff., 20.69. By these signs Moses sought to prove to Pharaoh that he had really been sent by God. In 7.102 he says, "O Pharaoh, I am a messenger from the Lord of the worlds, fully entitled on the basis that (so Dr. Bell, haqīq 'alā 'an) that I speak about Allah nothing but the truth; I have brought you an evidence from your Lord." Pharaoh replies, "If thou hast brought a sign produce it, if thou art one of those who speak the truth." Then follow the two signs already referred to. Clearly the Qur'ān conceives that Moses is trying to substantiate his claim that he has been sent by Allah.

These two classes of signs, then, provide evidence that the person who produces them is an accredited messenger of God, and that the God in whose name the messenger has come is almighty; and given favourable circumstances they ought to convince those to whom the apostle delivers his message. But success is dependent upon the signs, and where these did not win an acceptance of the message no other avenue of approach was possible. To have one's signs treated as lies doomed an apostle to failure. His claim to be a prophet was discredited and the dual response of faith and submission became impossible because that response could be elicited only if the signs were accepted.

But the Qur'ān conceived that Moses brought another type of sign. This came in the form of a divine intervention, and made the success of his mission independent of the response from Pharaoh. This third type of sign was evidence that Allah could intervene in the human situation and enter into judgment against men, and thereby prove that the prophet's announcement of the resurrection and the judgment represented reality. This third type of sign proved



that Allah would both judge and punish men either in this life or after death.

Probably the Qur'ān conceived that in miracles of Jesus son of Mary (5.109-115) was to be found evidence of his appointment to the prophetic office. It is significant that the Qur'ān reports a reaction to Jesus' animating the bird of clay, healing the blind and the leper, etc., identical with that which Moses' signs created within Pharaoh' heart, viz., "This is nought but obvious sorcery." Perhaps the request from Jesus' disciples that he should send down a table from heaven seems to have been prompted by a desire to have lingering doubts about Jesus' apostleship removed once for all. They said, "We desire to eat therefrom that our hearts may be at rest, and that we may know that what thou hast told us is the truth."

These accounts in the Qur'ān of the mission of past prophets help to throw light on Muhammed's situation and on his prophetic consciousness. He conceived that they were his predecessors in the sacred office, and the Qur'ān's accounts of them were largely moulded by Muhammed's own experience. These stories, then, are really a mirror in which we see reflected Muhammed's views about the signs, his feelings towards those who rejected them, and his conviction that he had entered into the inheritance of his predecessors.

We have already dealt with the Qur'anic view of signs in 111.a.12ff., but there are several details which should be noticed in connection with the Mukadhdhibūn. One of the limitations under which Muhammed worked was inability to produce signs such as Moses and Jesus brought to prove that they were authentic apostles. But he was not completely bereft of signs. He too was able to point to something supernatural, and that was the

Qur'ān itself. Islām teaches that the Qur'ān is the revelation of God revealed piecemeal to Muḥammed, and since he was held to be an illiterate prophet he could have learned the contents of the Qur'ān only through divine revelation. Islām has always emphasized that of all the miracles (signs) ascribed to Muḥammed the greatest of these was the Qur'ān itself.

In 29.17 the Qur'ān says that the apostle has only his plain message to proclaim, although it may be counted false and he himself dismissed as an imposter. Cf too 7.92. But it was precisely because the Meccans considered that this "plain message" was not attested by signs (though note 6.57 where the Qur'ān quotes Muḥammed as saying, "I stand upon an evidence, bayyinah- sign or manifestation, from my Lord but ye treat it as falsehood".) that his generation treated him with such scant ceremony.

We know from the Qur'ān itself that Muḥammed's claim to be the recipient of divine revelations did not impress his contemporaries; indeed they may have been referring to these revelations when they described him as a sāḥir kadhdhāb. We know too that the signs to which he pointed in the natural order did not convince the Meccans. In his Introduction to the Qur'an 84, Dr. Bell, with reference to the productive power of a "dead land", to which Muḥammed pointed as a sign of Allah's power and a corroboration of the resurrection, suggests that this particular phenomenon in nature and the varying response of different soils was perhaps a simile of the various responses among men to the message that Muḥammed had been commissioned to preach.

However, the Qur'ān reminds Muḥammed that his experience of apparent failure was by no means unique. Even those apostles were called liars who had brought "manifest signs" 38.11ff., 79.20f., 22.43. And in 17.61 it is remarked that "nothing has

prevented Us sending the signs but that the people of long ago counted them false." And for such the future holds a sad doom in store. In 6.24 the Qur'ān describes the reactions of the Mukadhdhibūn on the Judgment Day: "See how they lie against themselves ('unzur kayf kadhabūn 'alā 'nfusihum, i.e. see how their hopes are now proving false or vain) and how what they used to forge has destroyed them."

Closely connected with this widespread tendency to call the signs lies was the habit of treating the apostles themselves as liars. There appear to be some thirty-six references to this matter in the Qur'ān and a study of some of these will help to elucidate what the Qur'ān means by saying that the Mukadhdhibūn "called the apostles liars."

E.g., the phrase expressed the conviction that the apostles were not different from the rest of their generation. They were "mortals" like other men 26.186, 36.14, 54.23ff. People thought that they were infatuated or enchanted (musahharīn) 54.9, 26.185. It was noticed too that the people whom the apostles attracted to their cause were "reprobates" (azdhalūn, the vilest) 11.29, 26.111. The men to whom the apostles preached thought that they (the apostles) were "in stupidity" (fī safāhah) 7.64. Naturally the men who held the apostles in such light esteem could not conceive that the latter had "any superiority over" them 11.29. This word was spoken originally to Noah, but doubtless we have here once again a reflection of the attitude of Muhammed's generation towards himself.

This is probably the case too in 26.165ff. where antagonism towards a prophet was due neither to the message preached nor to the claims made but to exposure of a sin that characterised the community concerned, in this instance the people of Sodom. Cf. also



26.128ff. which may also provide another instance of a faithful prophet exposing the sins of a community. It is fairly certain that Muḥammed would have some pungent things to say with regard to the amassing of wealth and the exploitation that that would involve which would be features of the mercantile life of Mecca; and this kind of exposure must have had a very disturbing effect upon the leaders of Meccan trade, as disturbing an effect as Lot's exposures had upon Sodom; and perhaps the latter is simply a reflection of the former.

It is interesting to read the Qur'ān's recording of Moses' premonition that he would be counted a liar by the people of Pharaoh 26.11, 28.34. Naturally this would have a discouraging effect upon the apostles 6.33, and they "despaired" (ʾastayʿas) on occasion because "they thought that they were proved liars" 12.110. Here Muḥammed may be providing us with a reflection of what was going on in his own day although he is referring to "the messengers" of ancient times. It may suggest that he had been worsted in debate, or that he thought God had abandoned him, or that he had been deluding himself all along. We must, however, point out that, as Dr. Bell remarks, there is a variant reading for this phrase in 12.110. Flügel's Textus reads, "They thought they had been proved liars", and the variant reads, "They thought that they had spoken falsely." It is this variant that Dr. Bell has put in the text of his Translation and the other reading in the footnote. of course, one must also bear in mind constantly

In 10.38ff. the Meccans also accused Muḥammed of "inventing" (ʾaftara) a surah. It is interesting to notice that by calling the surah a lie the opponents mean (so the passage implies) that it has been forged or fabricated. The word used here is, of course, similar to the word that occurs in the phrase "to forge

against God a lie." In 84.22 it seems to be the whole Qur'ān that is described as a falsehood while in 68.44 it is a hadīth, a discourse. In 40.72 it is "the Book and the Message" that are counted false. Cf. also 3.181, 35.23. Interestingly enough only one of these references, 3.181, refer to the Jews; the rest refer to unbelievers generally. By calling these revelations false the Mukadhdhibūn probably meant that they were only the children of the prophet's imagination. A genuine revelation was one that an angel brought down to the human medium, who then mediated it to his own generation; and any revelation that did not bear this hall-mark was rejected as a counterfeit. *belong to the Meccan*

It is interesting to note that Muḥammed's generation were conversant with the idea of verbal and written revelations; and they had their own notions as to the manner in which such communications should be mediated. They also had certain criteria by which they judged their value. The Qur'ān was not rejected as lies because the notion of a revelation was new but because it did not conform to the preconceived ideas concerning a genuine revelation. And the rejection of the Qur'ān was due not only to its failure to conform to the prevailing standards of judgment. The absence of signs, or the intangibility of those that were offered, and the prophet's poor social standing when compared with what was expected of a genuine messenger, and the poor response which he elicited, were all contributory factors to the general failure. And, of course, one must also bear in mind constantly the political factor in the situation as well. *(or Decision, year*

Closely connected with this attitude towards the Books was the rejection of the "warnings" 54.23. But the rejection of these announcements of coming judgment on the grounds that a final judgment in their lifetime 13.31.

was a false idea was only the logical outcome of the general situation. In the presence of such constant opposition it was to be expected that warnings of a coming Judgment would fall on deaf ears and that the writer would himself be called "a liar" 67.9. *ing of the Hereafter". But in every case it is called a*

Naturally the Qur'ān emphasized the eschatological aspects of the warning messages though, as was pointed out in 111.a.12ff., this was not a characteristic of the early preaching by Muḥammed. At first the list of signs <sup>was</sup> were not connected with resurrection or judgment; and this is in keeping with the general dating of the Mukadhdhibūn passages. Many do not belong to the Meccan period. *logical ideas falsehoods.*

The Qur'anic references to this warning note in the message, and to the reactions that followed its proclamation, throw into striking relief the almost complete absence of eschatological ideas in pre-Islamic Arabia. There seems to have been no notion of judgment amongst the Mushrikūn. We know too that the idea of resurrection aroused only deep antagonism. Some vague ideas of an after life may have circulated among pagan Arabs because although resurrection and judgment were greeted with derision the Qur'ān does not suggest that there was any violent reaction against the notion of paradise. *of the sense of sin amongst pre-Islamic*

Both "the Hour" 25.12, and the Judgment 107.1 were called lies, though notice that in the last reference ad-dīn might also be translated 'religion'. The Day of Judgment was counted "false" 83.11. In 37.21 it is called "the Day of Distinction" (or Decision, yawm al-faṣl), though it should be remembered that such a day was not always thought of in eschatological terms. E.g. it was such a day (it is called "the striking" 69.4) that overwhelmed Thamūd and 'Ād in their lifetime 13.31.



And arising out of this attitude towards the Judgment Day there was the rejection of "the Meeting" with God with which the Qur'ān threatens men, a Meeting that would take place on that inauspicious Day 6.31, 10.46. In 23.34, 30.15 it is called "the Meeting of the Hereafter". But in every case it is called a falsehood. Hell is also counted a lie. In 92.14ff. it is called the Fire (nār), in 55.43 it is called Gehennah (jahannam), while in 32.20, 34.41 it is "the punishment of the Fire"; but in every instance it is counted a falsehood. It should be noticed that all these references concern either the Meccans or the Medinans. The Jews and Christians are not referred to as calling these eschatological ideas falsehoods.

It is to be remarked again that the consistently antagonistic attitude towards these religious ideas on the part of the Arabs underlines the fact that there was little if any eschatological hope in pre-Islamic Arabia. We gain the impression from the Qur'ān that the idea of a Meeting with Allah when He would judge <sup>not</sup> the sins of men was quite new. We do know from the Qur'ān if such ideas as paradise and the reward for good works were also counted falsehoods because it does not refer to these matter from this point of view. Probably this attitude to eschatological ideas indicates a lack of the sense of sin amongst pre-Islamic Arabs and the absence of the sense of moral accountability to God.

It certainly bespeaks an overwhelming preoccupation with the life of this world and a conviction that it represented for men the summum bonum. To people who were established in such ways of life and habit of thought eschatological hopes would naturally seem to be "lies". In addition, acceptance of these ideas would have entailed a complete reorientation in thought life and re-

religious practice and sense of values. The position was that what was "truth" (sidq) to the Apostle was counted false by the Mukadhdhibūn 39.33; and this counting the truth (haqq) false led them into deeper confusion of thought 50.5, 6.5, until they were even able to call "the Good" (al-husnā) a lie 92.9.

But this habit of calling certain things lies was not an isolated or 'simple' characteristic. It was part of a larger complex. Along with it went a proud attitude towards Islām 39.60f. This proud attitude of the Mukadhdhibūn is also alluded to in 7.34,38 where it is said that they counted the signs false because they were "too proud to receive them." Possibly this was pride of position because the leaders of the Mercantile life of Mecca would find it difficult to tolerate the pretensions involved in the claims of one who was a member of the lower social group as far as wealth was concerned.

It has already been pointed out that Muḥammed grew up in a centre where mercantile life and high finance and international politics coloured a man's sense of values and dominated his attitude towards his fellows. In such a milieu as Mecca a man of Muḥammed's social standing would make little headway with the pretensions that were implicit in his claim to be a prophet. To begin with, the clan to which he belonged, while it was relatively important, was one of the poorer sort. It is true that his marriage to Khadījah did give Muḥammed a measure of prestige, and although the new relationships to which his marriage undoubtedly admitted him gained for him a slight foothold in the mercantile ventures of Mecca yet such a foothold would be precarious in the extreme.

Naturally therefore his contemporaries would view either with and brand some (of the apostles) as liars? In 22.11ff. the

displeasure or disdain his claim to be a prophet and, therefore, a leader in religion and politics. Events were to prove that the reading of the situation by Muhammed's contemporaries was based upon a sound instinct. It is true that Muhammed started as no more than a messenger to Mecca, but as time passed, and as he became acquainted with the accounts of earlier prophets, his message became "a reminder to the worlds" 6.90, 68.52.

But even when this wider conception began to seep through to Muhammed's consciousness he continued to work almost exclusively among the people he touched daily. Gradually the rasūl became the nabī in the early Medinan period and assumed a higher status. He claimed obedience 4.67 and the power to judge 4.106. Proof that he was a prophet was that he had received the Book 19.31 which inevitably brought with it the power to exercise jurisdiction over men 3.23, 6.89 and to act as a witness over his people. Doubtless these political pretensions were not present to Muhammed's mind when he embarked on his career as a rasūl Allah, and probably the primary impulse that led him to take the step that he took was purely religious, and was bound up with a desire to further monotheism, but his contemporaries proved themselves to be men of insight and foresight when they recognised the far-reaching implications in the rather simple and innocent looking title rasūl Allah. Apparently, was the first reaction towards the claims of the

Treating the signs as lies might also be accompanied by neglect of the signs 7.132, 144. And along with careless and indifference went disdain. 6.5 speaks of those who called <sup>u</sup>thetrith a lie being confronted by "the message of that at which they mocked" (yastahzi'ūn), see also 30.9. In 2.81 the people are asked, "Do you proudly scorn an apostle who comes to you with what your souls love not, and brand some (of the apostles) as liars?" In 52.11ff. the



words suggest a more virulent form of mockery. Woe is promised to "those who call (apostles) liars, who plunge into discussion for a sport." The picture seems to be that of men who, wishing to pass the time, or, more actively, wishing to amuse themselves, draw the Apostle into argument. He seems to have been particularly annoyed by this form of mockery because the men who engage in debate do so without intending to act if they are proved wrong. And to a man of sincerity and sense of the fitness of things as Muhammed certainly was this action, revealing the mind of an inveterate trifler, would be exceedingly irritating.

Naturally this mocking attitude, if persisted in, would lead finally to a man "turning from the signs" he counted false. "Who", asks the Qur'ān, "does greater wrong than he who counts the signs of Allah false and shuns (sadaf) them?" 6.158. In 15.81 it is said that the men of al-Hijr "used to avert (mu'ridīn) themselves" from the signs.

In several passages we find kufr and calling the signs lies brought into close connection with each other.<sup>1</sup> 39.33 refers to those unbelievers who speak lies about Allah and call the truth a lie. 23.46 points to the rejection of the apostles as liars preceding permanent unbelief. There the Qur'ān says, "Whenever (kullamā) its apostle comes to any nation they call him a liar." That, apparently, was the first reaction towards the claims of the messenger; but cf. 84.22 where it is those who misbelieve already who say that the Qur'ān, as a sign, is a lie, and cf. too 85.19 where, what those who misbelieve describe as a lie, is the story of the hosts of Pharaoh and Thamūd. These last two verses occur in fairly early surahs, especially surah 84, and may reflect an atti-

---

1. 7.70, 2.37, 5.13, 88, 22.56, 23.34, 30.15, 64.10, 57.18, 16.107.

above the Qur'ān also mentions the men of al-Hijr 15.80, the people

tude in the Qur'ān towards unbelief that was later modified in the sense that what was interpreted as a permanent state was not really so until a long series of acts of deliberate rejection produced an attitude of mind that became impervious to all appeals.

Probably one of the most important factors in unbelief when considered in conjunction with the rejection of the signs was a rejection of the idea of the Judgment Day 6.151. As long as people did not believe in a resurrection or a coming judgment they would see no compelling reason why they should accept the signs as authentic with all that that involved.

This calling the signs lies is, in the Qur'ān, represented as being widespread, and a common feature of the religious life of every age. It was a characteristic of the generation to whom the Qur'ān was given; but the Qur'ān is at pains to point out that from earliest times the messengers of Allah have been dismissed as imposters, and their signs as fabrications. 50.12-13 lists the people of Noah (cf. too 25.39, 26.105, 38.11), the men of ar-Rass (cf. too 25.40-, Thamūd (cf. too 26.141, 54.23, 38.12, 69.4), 'Ād (cf. too 26.123, 38.11, 54.18), Pharaoh (cf. too 38.11), the brothers of Lot (cf. too 26.160, 38.12, 54.33), the men of the grove, whom Dr. Bell identifies with the Midianites (cf. too 38.12, 26.176), and the people of Tubba', whom Dr. Bell identifies with the Himyarites of south Arabia (cf. too 44.36) as people who called the apostles or prophets liars. And here once again we are doubtless given in these references an insight into the mind of Muḥammed towards this phenomenon in his own age.

It is remarkable that in all these references except two, 54.23, 69.4, it is the apostles themselves who are rejected as liars.

Their signs are not mentioned. In addition to those peoples cited above the Qur'ān also mentions the men of al-Hijr 15.80, the people

of Pharaoh as distinct from Pharaoh himself 3.9, 8.56, and the Children of Israel 5.74. It is perhaps significant that the people of Pharaoh treated the signs as lies whereas Pharaoh treated the apostle as a liar. And it may also be significant that where Muhammed was concerned it was not he himself who was treated as an imposter, it was his signs that were dismissed as fabrications; though whether the Meccans would draw such a clear distinction between Muhammed and his signs in this regard is open to question.

As was only to be expected the Qur'ān takes a serious view of this manifestation of sin in the Mukadhdhibūn. To be guilty of calling the signs lies was to reach the nadir of wickedness 6.21, etc. It was equivalent to committing a dhanb 91.14, to declaring oneself an ill-disposed sinner (mu'tad'āthīm) 83.12, one of the mujrimūn 10.18, 6.148, belonging to a qawm saw' 21.77. Those who treated God's signs as lies were deaf and dumb, and in darkness 6.39, they were blind 7.62, and upon their hearts was a seal 7.99, 10.75. They were in great error 67.9, 56.51, 91, were not guided of God 10.46, 23.107, and were slaves of their own lusts 54.3. In their hearts was a fatal sickness 2.9.

To such no word of comfort or hope of salvation is spoken in the Qur'ān. The torment that awaits them is depicted in lurid colours, and it is a punishment that is begun here below 39.27, and may take various forms as the history of ancient peoples show, e.g. 54.34, 69.5, 7.62, 29.36, 7.132. But whatever form the judgment takes against the Mukadhdhibūn in this life it can never be compared with the woes that await them after death in the abode of the damned.

to cover in the sense of atone, while with the preposition bi it signifies to deny the existence or goodness of God. The first corresponds to the Hebrew use of kaffar while the second



## CHAPTER FIVE

is characteristic of Syrian usage. We shall refer to the Old Testament conception of faith when we consider the nature of 'iman, but it should be noticed here that unbelief in the sense in which it is used is not completely absent in

## MAN'S MORAL PROBLEM:

The man who says, "There is no God", is dismissed as "a fool" (Nab. nabhal Pa.14.1, 53.1. This is the description too of Israel in Deut.32.6 when she was unappreciative of Jahweh's benefits. In the Old Testament a nabhal is pre-

## SIN AS ERROR.

eminently an irreligious man, one who denies and insults God, and acts in an impious and presumptuous manner. "With a high hand"

## ITS MANIFESTATION.

MAN AS KAFIR.

(byadh rakah) is how the Old Testament describes it. We shall

The only other manifestation of evil that we shall consider in detail is that which characterises the Kāfirūn. Lane points out that originally the root kafar meant to cover, veil, or conceal; and so to dissimulate, feign, or dissemble. The Qur'ān charges the Kāfirūn with covering or hiding, and so denying or refusing to acknowledge, the favours that Allah confers upon them. I.e., they were guilty of ingratitude, a meaning that kafar has come to have in the Qur'ān. This is significant because these divine favours were really "signs", therefore, to deny these benefits was equivalent to rejecting the "signs", and this made one a kāfir, in contrast to a mū'min. To conceal, or refuse to acknowledge the favours of Allah was, ultimately, to deny the existence of the Giver of these benefits.

And this, as Dr.A.Jeffery points out in his Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān, is expressed in the Qur'ān by the second form of kafar. Kaifar has two uses in the Qur'ān. With the preposition 'an it means to cover in the sense of atone, while with the preposition bi it signifies to deny the existence or goodness of God. The first corresponds to the Hebraic use of kaffar while the second

is characteristic of Syriac usage. We shall refer to the Old Testament conception of faith when we consider the nature of 'imān, but it should be noticed here that unbelief in the sense in which it is used in the Qur'ān is almost completely absent in the Old Testament. The man who says, "There is no God", is dismissed as "a fool" (Heb. nābhāl) in Ps.14.1, 53.1. This is the description too of Israel in Deut.32.6 when she was unappreciative of Jahweh's benefits. In the Old Testament a nābhāl is pre-eminently an irreligious man, one who denies and insults God, and acts in an impious and presumptuous manner. "With a high hand" (byādh rāmah) is how the Old Testament describes it. We shall see that these are precisely the outstanding traits in the Kāfirūn as portrayed by the Qur'ān.

But as far as the Kāfirūn are concerned that which began as a refusal to acknowledge God's favours became ingratitude towards God, and then denial of God, and finally unbelief in God. It is this last element that the Qur'ān emphasizes in its use of kafar though the thought of ingratitude is not uncommon.

That a development in the meaning of the root is discernible in the Qur'ān is suggested by the Encyclopaedia of Islām in the article on kāfir. Its original meaning to obliterate or cover was changed to that of ingratitude towards Allah 26.18 manifested in the concealing of His benefits 30.33, 16.57, and see especially 16.85, "They recognise the goodness of Allah then they deny it, and most of them are the Kāfirūn." The next step was to impart to kāfir the sense of 'infidel', and it is probable that this change was due to Syrian influence.

It was doubtless applied first to the Meccans who rejected the claim that the Qur'ān was a revelation 50.1f. Unbelief in "the Message" is referred to in 34.33, 6.89 where the root kafar is

strengthened by the preposition bi, in. We shall point out later that neither from the start, nor suddenly, did the Qur'ān adopt a militant attitude towards the Kāfirūn. In the "late Meccan" period (Bell) it still urged believers to "respite the Kāfirūn and give them respite a little" 86.17, 73.10f., and appeals to Muhammed to "have patience" with those who reject him and "withdraw from them gracefully". In 109.6 the Qur'ān reports that Muhammed said to the Kāfirūn, "Ye have your religion and I have mine." Gradually, however, a change of attitude manifested itself in the Qur'ān. The faithful are told, "choose not bosom friends outside yourselves" 3.114, then after warning them to defend themselves against the Kāfirūn the Qur'ān tells them, "fight .....those who fight you....."

We shall see that in a very real way it is in the Kāfirūn that the most serious and fundamental aspect of the Qur'anic idea of sin, that of rebellion, manifests itself. In them we see that sin is the claim, explicit or implicit, to live independently of God and to put something, whether self or the world, in His place. It was in fact godlessness, the will that for them there should be no God at all. Now the chief moral forms in which this spiritual attitude finds expression may be selfishness or sensuality, but these terms do not bring out the fact, as a working conception should, that sin is what it is by virtue of its bearing on God and His will for men.

Naturally the Qur'ān took a very serious view of kufr. The Kāfirūn were deaf, dumb, blind and senseless 2.166, 6.25. They lived in darkness 2.259, and were incapable of understanding the clearest similes 2.24, 74.33. They had no discernment 8.66, their eyes were veiled 18.100f., and upon their hearts God had set a seal 30.58f., 63.3, 4.154, 9.99. But notice that the seal-



ing up of the heart of the kāfirūn followed kufr, so that the sealing up of the heart was the outcome of kufr and not vice versa. It is in this sense that the Kāfirūn are led astray by God 9.37, and often. I.e., kufr was something for which one was personally responsible 34.31f., 30.43, 35.37., and would incur punishment 5.115, punishment that would be just.

The fact of the matter is that unbelief has its origin in the human will 8.57, 18.28, and Cf. section 1V.6ff. It is true that 59.16 traces kufr to satanic suggestion, but that does not cancel out the freedom of the will in the matter of unbelief. Notice too that the Qur'ān underlines the enmity and active antagonism that accompany kufr. The unbelief of the Children of Israel was accompanied by rebellion 5.82, and the slaying of the prophets 3.108, 2.58. It was the rejection of what was, in the opinion of the Qur'ān, demonstrably true 2.83, cf. also 30.50, therefore to reject the Qur'ān and its claims was equivalent to following falsehood 47.3, and living in a state of perpetual doubt 22.54. In 61.8 the Kāfirūn among the Jews are said to be desirous of putting out (yutfi'ū) the light of God, and of turning people from the path of God 16.90. The same is said of the Meccans when they were preparing for an expedition after Badr 8.36. This form of opposition would be particularly obnoxious to the Qur'ān.

But in both the Meccan (13.32f.) and Medinan (14.16) periods Muhammed, in times of acute difficulty and discouragement, was reminded that apostles had been mocked at before, and that the liberty enjoyed by the Kāfirūn was divinely engineered and was but for an appointed time. In earlier times God's messengers had even been threatened with expulsion from their native land but God had overruled. Sometimes the opposition encountered by the Qur'ān took the form of mockery and disdain 21.37, 22.71, and at other

times the Kāfirūn interrupted the reading of the Qur'ān by talking in order to drown the voice of the reader 41.25.

Then again this opposition which originated from kufr sometimes assumed more virulent forms and could be described on occasion in terms of "fierceness (hamyyah in the heart" 48.26. We know that this "fierceness of heart" did manifest itself in armed opposition after the Hijrah, but that, of course, was not continuous. Doubtless there would be constant argument and debate and eager questioning both in Mecca and Medinah. We know also that there was a lot of secret opposition in Medinah emanating from the Jews and the Munāfiqūn who worked together against Muhammed.

As far as the Kāfirūn among the Meccans were concerned they had ample reason to feel justified in their opposition to Muhammed and the new faith. The Meccans were custodians of the ancient religious shrine the Ka'bah, and as the conjecture is almost certainly true that trade was inextricably bound up with the control of this and other shrines it was probably this commercial aspect of the ownership or control of these places of pilgrimage that was responsible for opposition to Muhammed. It was this aspect that led Abrahah the Abyssinian viceroy in the Yemen to strike at the Ka'bah. It was natural therefore that the Kāfirūn in Mecca should be unwilling to surrender this religious and commercial symbol to Muhammed.

We have noticed too that the Meccans were alive to the political implications of Islām. Naturally they would be unwilling to let go the political prestige and authority that had been their prerogative for so long, thanks to the immense commercial importance of Mecca. They must also have been satisfied with the status quo in Mecca at that time. They were in close touch with the trend of events in international politics and naturally would be of the

opinion that such a disrupting factor as the founding of a new religion which would necessitate a reorientation in almost every department of life was highly undesirable at that juncture.

It has been said earlier that the ancient faith of Arabia had largely ceased to exercise a positive influence in the thought and practice of the Arabs when Muḥammed began to preach, but there are indications that idolatry was not completely dead and the Qur'ān suggests that the opposition of the Kāfirūn was influenced by it. In 4.63 they are described as those who wish to "refer their judgment to Tāghūt." Dr.A.Jeffery in his Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān argues for an Ethiopic derivation of this strange word which is used in the Qur'ān "to indicate an alternative to the worship of Allah." The Ethiopic root expressed deviation from the true religion and then came to be used of idols and idolatry. In 4.63 the Qur'ān is referring to the Jews who desire "to carry their disputes to Tāghūt". Obviously it would not be correct to translate the word "idols" in this instance, so Dr.Bell understands the word to mean "heathen judges". By virtue of his having received a revelation Muḥammed believed that he had the right to exercise jurisdiction in Medinah but, of course, since the Jews refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of Muḥammed's claims they also rejected Muḥammed's demand to be allowed to exercise jurisdiction over them.

The Qur'ān however could not tolerate such a position and it opposed most uncompromisingly all attempts to associate idols with Allah 29.65, 30.33, etc., although we have to remind ourselves that this was not the attitude of the Qur'ān from the beginning as the 'satanic verses' in surah 53 make very clear. Cf. also section V a p.12f. That phase passed however and the Qur'ān



became the implacable enemy of idolatry. It would not tolerate any mental reservations among the confessed believers, nor would it permit them to believe in Allah and reserve judgment regarding the apostles who claimed to have been sent by Him. With reference to the Kāfirūn among the Jews the Qur'ān lays it down that there is no via media between 'īmān and kufr 4.149f. These verses are part of the Qur'anic polemic against the Jews and their rejection of Muḥammed's claim that Islām was in reality the same faith as that which had been revealed to Abraham by Allah.

Notice must also be taken of the close connection between kufr and ingratitude to which attention was drawn when the etymology of the root kafar was discussed. The Qur'ān interprets this covering up or denying the favours of Allah in terms of an ungrateful spirit. 16.113 refers to a city (Dr. Bell thinks that Mecca is meant here) that enjoyed great security and abundant provision from every quarter, but "it denied (kafarat) the favours of God" and so disbelieved in the Source of the bounties it had enjoyed. In 14.7 the connection between the refusal to give thanks and kufr is again clearly expressed. There Moses exhorts the Children of Israel to "remember the favours of God" toward them, and remind them of the Lord's own words, "If ye give thanks (shakartum) I will surely give you increase, but if ye disbelieve (kafartum) verily My torment is severe"; implying that kufr originated in an ungrateful spirit.

In 16.74 it is inferred that faith in a vanity (batil) leads to ingratitude towards Allah because in that situation it is impossible to acknowledge that He is the Giver of the bounties of life. Cf. also 29.67. In 2.147 Allah commands men saying, "Thank Me and do not disbelieve". This expresses well the close connection between denial of benefits and kufr.

Naturally enough the Qur'ān attributed this attitude of mind among the Kāfirūn to the innate pride of the human heart. Doubtless such words as, "Follow our path, we will bear your sins" 29.11 (spoken by the Kāfirūn among the opponents in Medinah) helped to confirm the Qur'ān in this conviction. The favourite expression it uses to describe those who adopted this attitude of mind is "those who are big with pride" ('astakbar). This occurs in both Meccan (7.74, 46.9) and Medinan (45.30, 39.60, 46.19) periods. In these references pride and kufr are placed in juxtaposition. In 2.32 Iblīs is described as having become a kāfir because of pride. Cf. also 38.74. In 38.1 the Kāfirūn are described as being "in pride" (fī 'izzah).

This trait that was such a characteristic of the Kāfirūn is explained, in part at least, by the next point that has to be observed. There are indications in the Qur'ān that many of them lived in fairly opulent circumstances; and doubtless when the Qur'ān explained kufr in terms of pride it had in mind the fact that they were wealthy men. From the point of view of the Kāfirūn themselves this factor of wealth would strengthen their determination to oppose the new faith. They would be afraid that Muḥammed might emerge as a new political and religious leader and so cause a shift in the economic balance which would place them in an unfavourable position.

Expressed in modern terminology the new faith was opposed (by) by vested interests. Undoubtedly the economic factor would be one of the most important influences that would help to create the attitude of mind that was so prominent among the Kāfirūn towards the new faith and to establish them in it. Although they had in fact lost confidence in the ancient religion of their fathers it would be difficult for them to break openly with that

old faith since they had everything to gain and nothing to lose by the continuance of the status quo. Indeed in a Meccan passage, 43.22, the affluent among those to whom apostles had been sent are reported to have said, "We found our fathers (agreed) upon a religion, and verily in their footsteps we walk." And probably the Qur'ān is simply putting into the mouths of past generations what the Meccans of Muḥammed's day were saying. The old political and religious order had brought the Kāfirūn influence and affluence hence their trust in wealth and their scepticism towards a more spiritual interpretation of life, and their distrust and contempt of anything that tended to interfere with the established order of things would become more and more prominent in all their contacts with Muḥammed.

The Kāfirūn are also described as those "who know the outside (ẓāhir) of this world's life". This occurs in a Meccan passage 30.6. I.e. they were acquainted with, and interested in, only the outward show of this present life. But this was a common feature in the Medinan period too. 23.34 reminds the Kāfirūn that the enjoyment in the life of this world comes from God. And what the life of this world consists of is set out in another Medinan verse, 3.12; namely women and children, treasured talents of gold and silver, horses of good pedigree, flocks and arable land.

But the accumulation of these brings a snare and tends to make the possessors of them live for the enjoyment of this life only 29.66, 46.19, 30.33, 47.13, and prefer this life to that which is to come 16.109, 14.3, and finally consider wealth and what this life has to offer as the <sup>m</sup>sumum bonum. In the event of there being a future life it is useless for the Kāfirūn to depend on the good



works wrought with their possession to give them a guarantee of acceptance with God 3.8,85,112, 34.33. But we have seen that the hope of a future life was not strong among non-Muslims, and the Kāfirūn among the Meccan pagans are reported to say in 6.29 that "there is nothing but the life of ours in the world and we shall not be raised." But the Qur'ān warns the unbelievers that one day they will discover that all their hopes which are centred in these material things are vain and that they have been deceived 6.130, 3.111, 7.48. In 3.172, 2.102. In the latter reference it

Little wonder that the Qur'ān warns believers that "the life of this world is but a sport, and a play, and an adornment", and fosters only a boastful spirit. Like the vegetation that springs up with the rain and then withers away so is the life of this world 57.19. This warning gains more point when it is recalled that unbelief was not unknown among those who had believed; so that in the Qur'ān kufr is also thought of in terms of backsliding. In 3.80 renegades are described as people becoming unbelievers after having believed and witnessed that the Apostle was true. But such a renunciation of faith can never be understood to be the will of God since at no time does He bid one disbelieve after he has resigned himself. This applies to Jews (3.74), the Hypocrites (9.67,75), and believers in general 3.102. For renegades who die in unbelief no salvation is possible 3.84, 2.214, 4.136. the unbelievers in extending mutual aid to one

Of course, backsliding may be forced upon a believer but this form of apostasy is not reckoned to be a true departure from the faith because "the heart is quiet in the faith" although outward appearances belie this, and, therefore, the question of punishment does not arise. See 16.108 where voluntary and compulsory backsliding was from Allah in as real a sense as was the message of Moses.

sliding are contrasted. Cf. also 18.79 where concern is expressed for a certain believer and his wife whose son was an unbeliever. The Qur'ān's fear is that the latter will "impose" (yarhiq) upon his parents "rebellion and unbelief" (tughyān wakufr). To escape such a possibility God was asked to give the parents a more worthy son from the point of view of "purity" and "filial affection".

The phrase, "those who purchase infidelity at the price of their faith" occurs in 3.172, 2.102. In the latter reference it is part of a warning to believers against Jewish influences. Perhaps this has significance for 5.101 where believers are discouraged from asking questions. The grounds for this is that people in the past did this kind of thing "and were then found disbelieving in" those very same things about which they asked questions. The subject about which questions are discouraged seems to be the sending down of the Qur'ān. Quite clearly if the questioners felt that their queries were answered in an unsatisfactory manner it might lead to backsliding.

The dangers from backsliding were very real. Kufr tended to spread like a plague, insidious and contagious. The Kāfirūn afforded each other mutual aid, and by concerted action spread their fatal "corruption" (fasad). This corruption might easily begin to infect the believers and therefore they are urged to imitate the unbelievers in extending mutual aid to one another 8.73f.

It will have become clear then that from the point of view of the Qur'ān kufr was a most serious matter. It was serious because it was a rejection of that which had come from Allah 41.52. See also 46.9 where the Qur'ān declares that Muḥammed's doctrine was from Allah in as real a sense as was the message of Moses.

Kufr was serious also because it was so widespread. The majority of men do not believe 11.20, 30.7, 25.52, 17.91. On the other hand only "few believe" 4.49, 154.

As 'īmān resided in the heart 16.108 so kufr had its seat in the qalb; although, therefore, men might make profession of faith by word of mouth such a 'confession' was invalidated by the Kufr that was in the heart. This is said of Jews (5.45) and the Hypocrites (3.160f.) alike. A man might signify by word of mouth that he was entering the community of the faithful, but if kufr still lurked in his qalb he would soon leave the community still in a state of kufr because God knows well what is in the qalb even although the insincere 'believer' tries to cover it up both from God and the genuine believer 5.66.

In its article on kāfir the Encyclopaedia of Islam quotes the Lisān 'al-ʿArab 6.456f. sa saying that there are four kinds of kāfirūn to be distinguished. (1) The man who will neither recognise nor acknowledge Allah. (2) The man who agrees to recognise Allah but refuses to express his acknowledgment of Him verbally. In this instance the man is still a kāfir. (3) The man who both recognises and acknowledges Allah but because of obduracy or hatred he remains a kāfir still. (4) The man who agrees to acknowledge Allah verbally but refuses to recognise Him in his heart. In this final instance the man is a hypocrite as well as a kāfir. This fourfold definition certainly underlines the Qur'anic preoccupation with the qalb and the power that its purposes and dispositions exercise over the whole personality, but its prejudice in favour of verbal expressions of faith introduces an element that is not a subject of absorbing interest for the Qur'ān.



The Qur'ān frequently asserts that the kufr of the unbelievers invalidates their works of merit. This indirect testimony to the performance of meritorious deeds on the part of the Kāfirūn suggests that there were those among them who were public spirited and who undertook these works of kindness as an integral part of their religious life. The Qur'ān does not specify what works they performed but in 3.20, 5.7, which refer to the Kāfirūn among the Jews, and in 9.17 which refers to the polytheists, and in 47.34 which concerns the doubtful supporters in Medinah (cf. also 18.105) it is said that these works ('a'māl) shall be made void (yubīt). 14.21 says that they shall be like the dust that the wind scatters on a stormy day, or like a mirage which the thirsty man thinks contains promise of water but on approaching it sees it melt away into nothingness 24.39. In 47.1,9 the Qur'ān remarks that Allah makes the works of the Kāfirūn miscarry, or sends them astray.

Now it is true that in the majority of verses where the word 'a'māl is used with reference to works of supererogation it has relevance to those that are performed by unbelievers; but on occasion it also has relevance to the works of believers, see e.g. 47.5, and cf. 99.7 where it refers both to good and evil works. It may, therefore, be legitimately interpreted in terms of almsgiving and other religious activities when it refers to the religious practices of the Kāfirūn. In 2.266, 9.54 it is the works of pseudo-believers that the Qur'ān has in view, and almsgiving, the expending of one's wealth for the benefit of the community, and prayer are explicitly mentioned.

And notice 8.35 where the prayers of the Quraysh are referred to, though in deeply derogatory language. The prayers of the

Hypocrites are offered in an indolent manner, as are also those of the unwilling fighters 4.141, 9.54, and the contributions of the latter are given "with aversion" and are therefore inefficacious. These works shall be as beneficial as a shower of rain is to the thin layer of soil on the rock which serves only to wash the soil away and expose the flinty surface to the elements 2.266. The last reference has particular relevance to "him who contributes.....for the sake of appearances.....without believing in Allah....." 2.214 refers to the works of the backslider but does not specify what these are.

But the foregoing references suggest that some among the Kāfirūn were sincerely concerned to help their fellowmen, and to do these works as unto God. Also we get the impression from these verses that outwardly there was not a very marked difference between the sincere believer and the kāfir, but the Qur'ān is sure that the Day of Judgment will reveal that there was in fact a great gulf between them. 109.1 suggests that deep antagonisms divided the one from the other. "I serve not what ye serve and ye are not servers of what I serve.....Ye have your religion and I have mine" is how surah 109 continues and ends. In 60.4 the Qur'ān puts into the mouth of Abraham these categorical words, "....between us and you is enmity and hatred begun for ever, until ye believe in Allah alone." Doubtless this is an echo of what Muhammed had said to his own generation. Such an attitude was inevitable when one considers the words in 50.23ff. which might well be taken as a definition of a kāfir. The words are reported of one of the angels who accompany every soul on the day of resurrection, "Throw into hell every stubborn unbeliever hinderer of good, hostile, contentious, who has set along with Allah another god....."

The Qur'ān associates the genesis of kufr in the heart with satanic agencies. In 4.78 the Kāfirūn are "satan's friends" who "fight on the path of Tāghūt", and who help (satan) against the Lord 25.57. The Qur'ān says that the Kāfirūn have Tāghūt as their patrons ('awlīyā'u) who bring them forth from light to darkness 2.259. We must of course guard against the assumption that the Qur'ān is here using Tāghūt as a synonym of shayṭān or jinn. The word means idols or idolatry.

But it is said that Allah sends the shayāṭīn against the Kāfirūn in order to drive them into sin 19.86; and at the Judgment they will say, "O Lord, show us those of the jinn and men who have led us astray" 41.29. Man is said to have disbelieved at the instigation of the devil who thereupon "left him in the lurch" 59.16. Evidently the Qur'ānic conception of kufr was such that it (the Qur'ān) felt obliged to explain it, in part at least, in terms of satanic influence.

Generally speaking the Qur'ān teaches that kufr ends in eternal ruin, but there are a few verses which speak of forgiveness even for unbelief. In 5.77 the Qur'ān explains that those who say, "God is the third of three" are unbelievers, but in v.78 goes on to ask, "Will they not turn again towards Allah and ask pardon from Him? For Allah is forgiving and merciful." But this, of course, may be but another example of the conciliatory attitude of the Qur'ān that characterised its relationships with the Christians.

"If they desist they will be forgiven what is past" 8.39 is spoken of Kāfirūn in general, but if they die in unbelief, see 3.85, 47.36 which refer to renegades, and 4.22 which speak of believers who are guilty of indecent behaviour, there is no hope



of forgiveness. If the Kāfirūn repent before they die Allah will relent towards them; but 4.22 holds out no such hope in the case of a deathbed repentance. That, it seems, is as far as the Qur'ān goes in the matter of pardon for the Kāfirūn, and it will be seen that its attitude is overwhelmingly negative. Not, of course, that the Qur'ān believed that the fate of the Kāfirūn was irretrievably fixed by eternal decree. There was a sense in which they had their destiny in their own hands. It all depended on whether they would turn to Allah and submit themselves to Him. If one may be permitted to take the words of an old writer and make them significant for the Kāfirūn one could say that "it is not sinning that ruins men, but sinning and not repenting."

2.5, however, says that it is useless to warn them for they will not believe. From hell they will appeal for a second chance but Allah will answer, "Did We not let you grow old enough for everyone who would take warning to take warning?" 35.34. A verbal confession of faith when the violence of judgment is falling upon the Kāfirūn is too late to be efficacious 40.84f. Cf. also 32.29. To die in kufr renders works vain 2.214. A verbal confession of faith is useless if kufr is in the heart 5.45. Even their wealth is a snare from God 9.55.

No prayers are to be offered for those who die in unbelief, nor is one to stand by the grace of an unbeliever 9.85. This reference concerns those who stayed behind, perhaps during the expedition to Hudaibiyah. And cf. 9.115, 60.4 where it is said that Abraham's praying for his unbelieving friends should not be imitated. If a believer should pray for forgiveness for the kāfir seventy times yet would Allah not forgive them 9.81.

"Those who disbelieve shall not be allowed (to excuse themselves)

nor will they be respited" 16.86. Kufr is a plague that propagates itself and ends in death 9.126. 4.136 says that "God will never pardon" nor will He guide "those who believe then disbelieve and then believe and then disbelieve and then increase in unbelief." If Allah does guide the Kāfirūn it will only be on "the road to hell." And all the treasures that earth contains will never be sufficient to ransom the Kāfirūn from the punishment of the resurrection day 5.40. Clearly, then, the Qur'ān was exceedingly pessimistic concerning pardon for the Kāfirūn. Forgiveness after death is denied categorically, but even in life the chances of a kāfir turning to God for pardon were remote.

Concerning what the Kāfirūn refused to believe in it is significant that the Qur'ān is preoccupied principally with signs not with the existence of Allah. In fact we have been able to note only six references (there may be more) where unbelief in Allah is mentioned alone 11.71, 13.6, 29, 18.35, 40.12, 67.6. These verses occur in contexts that deal with different subjects, either with scepticism regarding the resurrection, or signs, or with Muhammed's claims, or with idolatry. And this reminds us of a point that was raised earlier, cf. III a 15, viz., that in the very early Meccan period the signs in the Qur'an were not meant to prove the existence of Allah but rather to demonstrate His power.

It is to be noted, however, that unbelief in Allah is referred to (in addition to the six verses quoted above) in conjunction with unbelief in Muhammed 9.54, 81, 85. These have reference to the Hypocrites and those who were unwilling to fight. The references to unbelief in the signs are too numerous to quote.

There are some <sup>1</sup>twenty-six verses in all. In five of these is  
 1. 2.37, 254, 260, 19.80, 3.3, 4.59, 5.13, 88, 110, 11.62, 17.100, 18.105f., 21.31, 22.56, 57.18, 90.19, 2.93, 29.22, 29.46,

subject of kufr 34.3, as were also "the Last Day" 4.135, "the Hereafter" 7.43, and the angels 4.135.

The rejection by the Kāfirūn of those things that had such a strong eschatological significance is what one would have expected because they were apparently rich and materially minded. Unbelief in jurisdiction (hukm) and the prophetic office 6.89, and in what God had revealed 2.84, are also mentioned; but these really concerned the attitude of the Kāfirūn towards Muhammed personally. It was equivalent to saying that he was not a genuine prophet, that his revelations were impostures, and that, therefore, he had no right to exercise jurisdiction over them.

According to the Qur'ān kufr has been a characteristic feature of every age, but in saying this the Qur'ān might simply be giving us another insight into the circumstances in which it had to work. Kufr was an outstanding feature in the people to whom Noah was sent 11.29. It was also a habit (da'b) of the people of Pharaoh 8.54 as well as of 'Ad 11.63, 41.14, Thamūd 11.71, 41.16, the Midianites 7.83ff., and Goliath (Jālūt) and his army 2.251.

Those who disbelieve are described as "unjust" 2.255, and reprobates 24.54, 2.93. The Children of Israel seem to have offended to an unusual degree in this regard. 2.87 describes their kufr in the wilderness, for which "they were made to drink the calf in their hearts." This comes from a passage that constitutes a "theological attack" (Bell) on the Jews. In a later passage that warns believers against the influences of the Jews they are classed with unbelieving Mushrikūn who cannot bear the thought that something good should be sent down to Muhammed from the Lord 2.99.

Their kufr created within the Jews a mocking disposition towards the Qur'ān, and this manifested itself in the habit of "perverting



the words from their places" and of distorting the sounds of words, and so changing their meanings 4.48f. Cf. also 2.88. The Qur'anic references to this and to what follows are all part of the general polemic against the Jews. The Qur'ān represents that kufr among the Jews was present not only in the days of Moses and Muhammed. It was common among them right through their history; in the days of David and Jesus son of Mary 5.82, and Ezra 9.29f. And kufr among the Jews is, in the Qur'anic polemic, represented as being pernicious and tenacious, such that the Qur'ān found hard to tolerate. It refers to the Kāfirūn among the Jews as "the worst of creatures" 98.5. In 8.57, which probably refers to the Banī Qurayza, the expression "the worst of beasts" is found, and Dr. Bell suggests that the whole passage is a command to the believers to attack the Banī Qurayza after the affair of The Trench was over and the tribe was bereft of allies. The Jews "have been cursed" 5.15f., 82 for breaking covenants and disreputable conduct, and will be in the fire of hell 98.5. Almost all of these references occur in passages that belong to the year 2 A.H., though 9.29f. is dated as late as 9 A.H. But this serves to show that the polemic against the Jews in the Qur'ān was both sustained and bitter in the extreme.

It has already been noticed that the shayātīn are active agents in inspiring men to kufr. The Qur'ān also teaches that unbelief may manifest itself among them and other kindred spirit beings. In 2.96 the shayātīn are said to be kāfirūn, and they teach people magic. The jinn are described as kāfirūn in 6.130 where they are addressed in conjunction with men, and are said to have had messengers sent to them; but as "the life of this world" exerts

such a fatal fascination over men so it deludes the jinn and thus they become kāfirūn.

Iblīs is also described as a kāfir. Because of pride he refused to worship Adam and so "became one of the kāfirūn" 2.32.

Notice that the phrase reads, kān min 'al-kāfirīn. This may translated, "became one of the unbelievers", so Palmer and Bell in 2.32, or "was one of the unbelievers", so the two same authorities in 38.74. The first rendering suggests that Iblīs would not adore Adam and because of that became a kāfir. The second suggests that he would not worship Adam because he was already a kāfir. In any case it is clear that the Qur'ān would not interpret the kufr of Iblīs in terms of unbelief in the existence of God but rather in terms of disobedience to Allah.

One of the dreadful aspects of unbelief is that it is a living and a growing thing. "Those who disbelieve after believing and then increase ('azdādū) in unbelief.....these are the ones who go astray" 3.84, suggesting that as kufr grows it leads further and further away from the path of God; consequently it produces an irreligious spirit in the kāfir.

The liberty of the Kāfirūn is permitted them by God, and although they think that this "is good for them" it is in fact given only "that they may increase in guilt" 3.172. In 5.69 it is said that the Lord "will surely increase many of them (the Kāfirūn) in arrogance and unbelief". In v.72 the Qur'ān says that it is what has been revealed to the Apostle from the Lord that "increases many.....in arrogance and unbelief", but the Apostle is urged not to vex himself for disbelieving people. In 5.69,72 it is the Kāfirūn among the Jews that the Qur'ān has in mind. to Muhammad's pronouncements only as the rejection on the part of the Kāfirūn because were prominent and deeply rooted.

In 9.126 the Qur'ān draws a comparison between those who, believing, increase in faith, and those who, their hearts being infected with the fell disease kufr, discover that it only adds plague to plague, and they die Kāfirūn. But the chief danger from kufr was that it produced a violent reaction in the mind and heart of Allah towards the Kāfirūn. E.g., 35.37 tells us that "their kufr shall only increase the Kāfirūn in hatred (maqt) with their Lord." I.e., the Lord already abhors the unbelievers and their kufr only increases them in abhorrence in the eyes of God.

In 2.156 the Qur'ān says that a threefold curse lies upon the Kāfirūn. "Upon them is the curse of Allah, and of angels, and of all men. Under it shall they remain for ever." Cf. also 5.82. In these words there is the suggestion that kufr is a permanent state from which escape was almost impossible 2.5. And what made their position almost irretrievable was that the life of this present world was made seemly and desirable to them 2.208; but although they seemed to prosper the believer knew that the future did not lie with them. They would never be able to frustrate God 24.56 or "steal a <sup>n</sup>match" on the believers 8.61. This conviction had steadied many prophets in the past; "they had not grown faint" in adversity, but had prayed and stood firm 3.140ff.

It has been pointed out that there is a strong apocalyptic flavour about the threats of punishment concerning the Kāfirūn. It should be noticed however that this eschatological element that is so strongly present in the Qur'anic threats of punishment against kufr was not present from the beginning. This feature crept into Muhammed's pronouncements only as the rejection on the part of the Kāfirūn became more prominent and deeply rooted.



Dr. Bell suggests that Muhammed's ideas concerning the punishment of the Kāfirūn had two main elements in them. (1) That the punishment would take place on the plane of history. Just as temporal calamities had overwhelmed the Kāfirūn among peoples in the past so the divine judgment would smite the Kāfirūn of Muhammed's generation, and through similar media. (2) As the community of the faithful became more numerous Muhammed's ideas of judgment became more eschatological. This manifested itself in the future life of the believer as well as in the future existence of the unbeliever. Dr. Bell suggests that this development is evidence of Muhammed's contact with Jews and Christians and with their revelations. It also hints at a gradual spiritualising of the relationships between Allah and the believer. This is also suggested by the introduction and increasing use of such words as tāwbah, maghfirah, kaffārah, ridwān, etc.

The foregoing discussion of the Qur'anic view of kufr and the Kāfirūn has brought out clearly that presumption, pride rooted in one's own powers, was perhaps the main characteristic manifested by this 'class'. This pride grounded in unbounded self-confidence was natural to them because they seem to have been wealthy and consequently independent. They had had political, commercial and religious affairs in their own hands for some time and this, coupled with their financial strength, seems to have engendered within them a feeling of independence of a higher power.

There is no suggestion that they were unduly aware of their creatureliness, and as has been demonstrated again and again in human history where this is absent there follows an excess of self-confidence, a forgetfulness of, and then a denial of their

dependence upon God. We have seen that these characteristics are implicit in the very name kāfir. Now it was precisely this offensive pride in the Kāfirūn, and satisfaction with their own achievements, and the conviction that the true significance of life is to be found in human excellence that the Qur'ān so consistently and fearlessly condemned. In his Introduction to the Qur'ān p.8. Dr. Bell writes, "The frequency with which the Qur'ān insists that it is impossible to frustrate Allah probably combats the confidence the Meccans had in their powers of negotiation and intrigue to avert threatening dangers."

Probably the dominant attitude of the Kāfirūn was very worldly. The amassing of large fortunes, the consolidation of financial and material interests, and the making of these the basis of partnership rather than of blood-relationship tended to increase the fatal gap between rich and poor. We have noticed signs that the Kāfirūn showed some concern for their poorer fellow-citizens but this may not have been widespread among them and the tendency would be to neglect the moral bonds that bound men together.

The repeated references to the treatment that orphans had meted out to them suggest that ill-treatment of relatives was all too common. Little wonder that the Qur'ān should see in this insane pursuit of and trust in wealth the besetting sin of the rich among the Kāfirūn. This would help to explain the attraction that Islam had for the poorer classes in the earliest days of Muḥammed's call to the prophetic office.

But again we must repeat the warning that was given in section V a., where the Mushrikūn were dealt with. We need to guard against the impression that the Qur'ān became antagonistic towards the Kāfirūn in particular and all non-Muslims in general either

from the start or abruptly. This is certainly not so. Even after he went to Medinah and had witnessed the emergence of a community of the faithful Muhammed was still fairly tolerant towards unbelievers, even those in Medinah and among the Jewish tribes.

Ibn Ishāq, one of the Prophet's earliest biographers, reports the terms of an agreement or decree that defines the attitude he adopted towards non-Muslims in Medinah. The terms of this agreement are supplied by Ibn Hishām in his Sirah 'an-Nabi, Ed. Cairo, 1346 A.H. 1.299ff., and they make clear that the rights of both Jews and pagan Arabs were safeguarded. But it is significant that the Meccans are referred to in terms that suggest that they were the avowed enemies of the Muslims.

Tradition reports that this religious toleration was extended to those outside Medinah, but in 9 A.H. another proclamation reveals a deterioration in Muhammed's attitude. In a translation of this decree by Sir William Muir in his The Life of Mohammad p.452 we read that "the Kāfirūn are unclean" and are not to be permitted to visit the Ka'bah after the year 9 A.H. Gradually this antagonism hardened into a settled policy until in the following year the community of the faithful became more exclusive, and their attitude more intolerant towards those outside.

The Qur'ān reveals the same deterioration. Cf. e.g. 2.257, 109.6, 3.57, 2.59 where the Qur'ān is at pains to assure the non-Muslims that in fact there is no necessity for antagonisms and mutual distrust to arise between them and the Muslims. However it was inevitable that this religious tolerance should disappear as Muhammed became more powerful. The time came when the faith-



ful were commanded to fight against both Jews and Christians. Doubtless ~~the~~ extremely unco-operative attitude of the Muslims was a factor in this change of attitude but one must remember that the political factors may also have contributed towards the unhappy state of affairs that gradually developed.

### IMAN.

One of the most important demands that Allah makes upon man is faith (iman). The root 'amin meant originally to be quiet in heart or mind; and then it came to mean to be safe, to be in a state of security and, therefore, free from fear. See e.g. 7.97 where the question is asked, "Do they feel secure against the plot of Allah?" The verbal form there is 'aminu. The root may also signify trust or confidence in a person. In 12.11 Jacob's sons ask their father why he does not trust ('amin) them in respect of Joseph.

In the 4th form the meaning to believe is very prominent; and, of course, the infinitive is 'iman, believing a thing, but particularly believing in Allah; what we mean by faith, confidence or trust. In this sense iman is synonymous with tasdiq. We shall see that a confession of faith may be an acknowledging with the tongue only, but such a confession will soon be disavowed with the heart. We can appreciate therefore how this infinitive 'iman (faith or believing) came to be a technical religious term. Dr Jeffery is of the opinion that the 4th form of 'amin and its derivatives "have been borrowed from the older faiths", though the primitive root is pure Arabic.

The root also occurs in the Old Testament but there it is the

## CHAPTER SIX

High 11 that is used to CHAPTER SIX of trusting or believing. In the Old Testament faith is rather confidence in God. It was confidence in God that made the Israelites march up to the sea and the cleaving of whose waters was a vindication of their faith. Abraham is, of course, the great exemplar of faith, and it was by virtue of his confidence in God that it was accounted unto him for righteousness (Gen. 15.6).

GOD'S DEMANDS UPON MAN

ĪMĀN.

Hebrew אֱמוּנָה and אֱמָנָה, like pistis, fides, and fau

One of the most important demands that Allah makes upon man is faith (īmān). The root 'āmin meant originally to be quiet in heart or mind; and then it came to mean to be safe, to be in a state of security and, therefore, free from fear. See e.g. 7.97 where the question is asked, "Do they feel secure against the plot of Allah?" The verbal form there is 'aminū. The root may also signify trust or confidence in a person. In 12.11 Jacob's sons ask their father why he does not trust ('āmin) them in respect of Joseph.

In the 4th form the meaning to believe is very prominent; and, of course, the infinitive is 'īmān, believing a thing, but particularly believing in Allah; what we mean by faith, confidence or trust. In this sense īmān is synonymous with tasdīq. We shall see that a confession of faith may be an acknowledging with the tongue only, but such a confession will soon be disavowed with the heart. We can appreciate therefore how this infinitive 'īmān (faith or believing) came to be a technical religious term. Dr Jeffery is of the opinion that the 4th form of 'āmin and its derivatives "have been borrowed from the older faiths", though the primitive root is pure Arabic.

The root also occurs in the Old Testament but there it is the

VI a 2.

High il that is used to express the idea of trusting or believing. In the Old Testament faith is rather confidence in God. It was confidence in God that made the Israelites march up to the Red Sea, the cleaving of whose waters was a vindication of their faith. Abraham is, of course, the great exemplar of faith, and it was by virtue of his confidence in God that it was accounted unto him for righteousness (Gen.15.6).

The Hebrew 'āmunah and 'āmanah, like pistis, fides, and 'faith' imply fidelity as well as confidence. Indeed fidelity to God was inseparable from confidence in God. It is worth noting too that in the Old Testament the root and its derivatives never have relevance to particular doctrines or statements of belief in the sense of creeds. In the Old Testament faith was rather an attitude towards God. It was a response to His grace, a response in terms of acceptance of the covenant and a sustained determination to exhibit this condition of mind in life and conduct. Faith (this is also a feature of the Qur'anic doctrine of īmān) was not an abstract thing. It was always practical. Of course, as was only to be expected, circumstances tended to clarify faith, give it a deeper and more strictly spiritual character and so make it a spiritual relation to God, until faith rose to be a spiritual trust in the unseen.

We have already had occasion to refer in passing to the chronological sequence of the surahs in the Qur'ān, but the subject of this present section is so intimately bound up with the questions of chronology and historical development that we are obliged to distinguish clearly between certain epochs in the life of Muhammed before we can rightly appreciate the significance of īmān in the Qur'ān.



In his book, Le Coran. Introduction 258, Professor R. Blachère, in discussing the chronological sequence of the surahs, suggests as a guide to this end an attempt "de retrouver dans le Coran les diverses phases de la prédication de Mahomet en prenant pour guide le déroulement d'autres expériences." Now this same criterion is indispensable in trying to unravel what the Qur'ān means by īmān and what the various stages of development were that the word passed through, because the term differed in content according to the historical situation in which Muḥammed found himself when he used it in his pronouncements.

For our present purpose it will suffice to have regard only to the late Meccan and the Medinan periods; and as regards the latter we shall see that the early part is by far the most important though events that took place towards the end of the period are also significant for our purpose. It is worthwhile to remind ourselves that there were many striking differences between the Meccan and Medinan periods. In the earlier Muḥammed had no influence whatsoever while in the later he had a well defined position and was able to pursue a policy in spite of the opposition with which he had to contend from the Jews and the Munāfiqīn. He had to hold the balance between the factions in Medinah and pursue a bold policy against Mecca. Inevitably this change in his circumstances must have affected deeply his religious thinking and the content of the religious vocabulary that he had perforce to evolve.

It was in the Medinan period that a broadening of the scope of his claims and mission took place, and we have already noticed that it was only after his arrival in Medinah that he acquired a more accurate knowledge of the Jewish and Christian scriptures and

of the attitude that these religious communities took up towards other religions. Now these and other factors must have exercised a great influence on Muhammed, and would contribute enormously to his religious development. And inevitably such concepts as īmān must also have become enriched and clarified in content and meaning with the passage of time. It will be realised too that such developments in Muhammed himself, in the content of his message, in his style and vocabulary as a preacher will provide students of the Qur'ān with extremely valuable criteria in the task of unravelling some of the problems involved in an attempt to place the surahs in proper chronological sequence.

It is at this point that we must recognise the value of one aspect of Dr Bell's scholarly researches in the Qur'ān. While the work of Nöldeke and Schwally is still the basis upon which any new work on the Qur'ān must rest it is only within recent years that one of the weaknesses of their monumental researches has come to light, and Dr Bell has done more than any other worker in this field to make good the deficiency. Professor Blachère refers to this on p.259f., of his book Le Coran, Introduction. He says, ".....à l'exception d'un certain nombre de sourates.....en général et surtout dans les sourates anciennes, chaque sourate est formée de fragments groupés d'une façon plus ou moins intime. Très souvent aussi.....des additions assurément ultérieures sont venues s'insérer dans des textes plus anciens, soit pour modifier, soit pour compléter le sens d'un passage..... Bell s'y est employé avec beaucoup de perspicacité."

Professor Blachère, however, thinks that these "insertions" are neither so frequent nor so long as Dr Bell would suppose. But it now seems clear that "the main unit of composition in the Qur'ān

was the short passage" (Bell) not, as Noldeke thought, the whole surah which he assumed formed a single unity. In what follows there has been dependence upon Dr Bell's dating of the short passages where faith is dealt with.

When one asks, What does the Qur'ān mean by īmān? the answer is found to be rather confused, confused rather than conflicting. There are perhaps three aspects of īmān which may be said to belong to the early (i.e. Meccan) period though these are not confined to the early stages of development. In two Meccan passages (32.29, 40.85) īmān seems to mean surrendering to religious or other convictions which one has resisted for some time. The impression there is that the soul has been resisting certain convictions, and it was the 'signs' that forced the soul to admit their validity; and it was that surrender that constituted īmān. In that sense faith is a conviction that certain things are true and must be accepted. Or, if one will, īmān is assurance. The same meaning is found in 6.159 which is a later passage. And in 40.29, which is early Medinan, religious conviction is probably also implied. It speaks of "a believing man of Pharaoh's people" who "concealed his faith".

Closely linked with this aspect of īmān is the Qur'ān's use of the term in another Meccan verse, 10.9 where, of those who "believe and do what is right" it is said, "The Lord guides them by their faith." This seems to imply that what was, to begin with, religious conviction, has now become a criterion, a code of conduct. īmān has now become something by which Allah guides the individual believer in daily life.

In a third Meccan verse, 42.52, the Qur'ān speaks in similar terms when referring to a time when the Prophet did not know "what



the Book and the Faith were". In then speaks of Muhammed guiding "to a straight path", which would equate the term īmān with Islām, the religious faith by which Muslims live. In this connection we should notice an early Medinan verse in which the Children of Israel are being reproved by Moses for their idolatrous worship of the calf. They are told, "An evil thing hath your īmān commanded you, if ye were true believers." Here īmān is almost the equivalent of a religion which is being judged by its fruits, 2.87.

In the period covered by the beginning of the work in Medinah up until after Badr in 2 A.H. and Uhud in 3 A.H. there is discernible a development in the significance of īmān. In a group of passages that belong primarily to the period when the two famous battles took place īmān seems to signify mental assent to certain religious propositions, the acceptance of a religious message or the claims that Muhammed was making for himself.

3.95f. refers to believers who become unbelievers, and lays the responsibility for this upon the Jews. Apparently some of the believers had ceased to believe in both the message and the claims of the Apostle. Cf. also 9.67, 3.84 where the Hypocrites and the Renegades are being attacked. There the Qur'ān emphasizes the uncertainty that creeps into the minds of "believers" regarding what they had "believed". Apparently it was this mental oscillation that undermined their īmān and led them back into unbelief. Cf. also 3.102. The implication is that doubts regarding the message had begun to fill their minds. In 3.80, which again concerns the Renegades, faith's object is not the message but the person of Muhammed and the claims which he made. These were accepted on trust as being true and authentic in the same sense that his message was; but doubts could even invade

that area of religious conviction and cause the believer to waver and oscillate and finally lead to a complete rejection of the claims made.

In 3.190 iman seems to be equated with the idea of total committal of the personality to another in the sense that one places absolute trust in another. In response to Muhammed's call, "Believe in your Lord", proclaimed by a "summoner to belief", the faithful say, "We have believed." They then beseech God saying, "Lord forgive us our sins and cover our offences and let us die with the righteous." This suggests something deeper than mere mental assent. It implies rather the surrender to another of all that is highest in man as moral personality, by virtue of which committal there is mediated the deeply moral gift of forgiveness and expiation of sin.

In a verse that belongs to the period after Uhud iman is identified with obedience to Muhammed. In 3.160f. reference is made to some believers who wavered in obedience to the Prophet's command to fight. They are described as being "far nigher to kufr than to iman." The waverers on this occasion were, of course, Ibn Ubayy and his followers who on the day of Uhud retired to their strongholds rather than meet the enemy on the open field. One should add that it is just possible that the Qur'an is here condemning their cowardice not their disobedience.

In another early Medinan verse iman might be interpreted to mean rest of conscience or peace of heart. 16.108 speaks of one "whose heart is quiet (mutma'inn) in the faith." I.e., a sense of peace and inward tranquility pervades the heart into which iman has come.

In the year 2 A.H. iman seems to mean a religious exercise,

VI a 8.

the performance of a religious act. The Qur'ān in 2.138 refers to the Qiblah which is now being changed from Jerusalem to Mecca, and goes on to assure the faithful that "Allah will not waste your īmān....." I.e., the observance of the Qiblah and the religious merit accruing from the performance of this religious duty will not be squandered by God. In this aspect of the past.

In the third period which includes the Day of the Trench in 5 A.H. and the Treaty of Hudaibiyah in 6 A.H. and beyond there is no very remarkable development in the significance of īmān, but two points should be mentioned. In four verses there is a close link between īmān and the idea of covenant. Faith as the entering into an alliance or covenant is suggested in 48.10 where the Qur'ān states, "Those who swear allegiance to thee (Muhammed) really swear allegiance to Allah- Allah's hand is over their hands." And again in v.18 of the same surah reference is made to the oath of allegiance taken at Hudaibiyah. Those who plighted their troth are described as "believers", and Allah is said to have been "satisfied" with the solemn pact they made.

The notion of covenant is also prominent in 33.23. "Amongst the believers are men who were sincere in the covenant they made with Allah, and some of them have fulfilled their vow (naḥb) (by dying in battle- Bell), and some who look forward (to doing so), they have not changed (their minds) with fickleness." In addition to this verse which belongs <sup>to</sup> 5 A.H. there is an earlier passage that again brings this notion of covenant into prominence. In 57.8 where men are being called upon to believe in Allah the Qur'ān adds, "and He has accepted their alliance (mīthāq): they are believers."

We must remember, of course, that these covenants were not



purely religious; indeed the political significance would be quite strong but that fact would not cancel out completely the quasi religious flavour that such alliances would possess for Muḥammed and his followers. Undoubtedly the Treaty of Hudaibiyah had a profound political significance, and it is possible that Muḥammed was chiefly interested in this aspect of the pact. But when he set out for Mecca on this occasion his primary intention was to perform the Pilgrimage and so demonstrate to the Meccans that Islām really had its roots in the city of Mecca. This event would go far towards convincing the Meccans that Islām did not aim at undermining the religious importance of Mecca. And if in addition it convinced the Meccans that Muḥammed really desired to establish friendly relationships with them it would certainly affect the political situation, but in the long run the religious significance would be far from negligible.

The notion of sincerity in īmān is also present in a verse that takes us beyond the Treaty of Hudaibiyah, and in this connection faith must be thought of in terms of personal committal or trust. In 60.10 the "believing women" who have fled in order to join themselves to the community of believers are referred to. It appears that before they were received into full membership the faithful were to "try them (ʾamtahinuhunn): Allah knows their faith." Perhaps this means test or examine their sincerity in respect of īmān.

In a series of passages covering a period stretching from the beginning of the work in Medinah until the Day of the Trench in 5 A.H. the Qur'ān enriches the significance of the term īmān in connection with its conviction that faith could increase and decrease. This matter is referred to again later in this section

V1 a 10.

but it should be noticed that īmān might increase through the sending down of a surah 9.125. In the following verse the Qur'ān points out that this same event might result also in the increase of sickness in the hearts of unbelievers, which reminds us of the Pauline idea that the preaching of the Christian gospel may be a savour of life unto life and of death unto death 2Cor 2.16.

īmān is also increased when God's signs are rehearsed in the ears of the faithful 8.2. After Uhud those who remained loyal to the Apostle were informed that the Meccans were mustering their forces to press home their advantage but this news only served to increase the former in the faith 3.136f.

That this use of īmān probably has relevance to religious assurance receives further support in 74.31 where the increase in belief is linked with the deepening of religious certitude (note that Rodwell understands the certitude to refer to the truth of the Qur'ān) among the People of the Book. The Qur'ān also attributes increase in faith to the fulfillment of promises given to believers by God and His Apostle; a remark that is followed by the conviction, "God and His Apostle are true" 33.22. The increase in faith is further described in 48.4 as faith being added to faith, and this takes place when Allah sends down His sakīnah into the hearts of the believers. Cf. also 74.31. These references indicate that with the passage of time īmān, in terms of religious convictions, became more settled in the trusting heart; which means that īmān was both living and developing.

We see then that this word is rich in content and possesses a deep and a serious moral and spiritual significance which might be summed up in the words of Henri Masse in his book L'Islām 103.

Vl a 11.

In attempting to define īmān he says, "Les orthodoxes finirent par déclarer que la foi se compose de trois éléments: acceptation intime d'une croyance (tasdīq, i'tiqād), confession par la parole (iqrār), pratique des bonnes oeuvres ('amal)."

Quite clearly then there is a sense in which īmān is the most fundamental of all the demands that God makes upon a man because it may be said that until īmān is present the other demands are meaningless. When we come to consider the demand expressed in the word islām (see Vl b 2) we shall find that the Qur'ān distinguishes between it and īmān, though A.J.Wensinck is of the opinion that they are synonymous. Cf. also al-Ghazālī Ihyā' 11.4.

Notice in this connection 49.14 which is said to belong to the year 9 or 10 A.H. The subjects of the verse as the 'a'rāb, unreliable Bedouin. In this verse they make profession of faith- 'āmanā, "we have believed". But in response to this profession of faith the Qur'ān bids the Prophet make the unambiguous answer, "Ye have not believed, but say rather, "We have become Muslims ('āslamnā)", for belief has not yet entered into your hearts."

Quite clearly a man could "profess Islām" ('āslam)- as the Bedouin did- without "believing" ('āman), or, to quote 49.14 again, "without faith having entered the heart." But the Qur'ān goes on to say, "If ye obey Allah and His Apostle" then you will have your reward; a retrospective reward as 49.14 implies because it would cover the works done from the moment of their profession of Islām though strictly speaking the reward ought not to operate until after "faith had entered the heart". But the point we are concerned to make at the moment is that in this verse the Qur'ān suggests that īmān is a vital necessity. Without it man cannot



enter into a proper relation with God.

The necessity for īmān is underlined in another late verse. In 9.19, which occurs in a passage that seeks to allay the disappointment of the Medinans over the fact that the management of the Ka'bah was to be left in the hands of the Meccans after the Treaty of Hudaibiyah, there is thought to be a reference to an uncle of Muhammed, Abu'l-'Abbās, who used to supply the pilgrims to the Ka'bah with water from the well of Zemzem. But the verse makes clear that "the giving of water to the pilgrimage, and the management of the Sacred Mosque" are not to be compared with "(the conduct) of him who has believed in Allah." The verse adds, "They are not alike in Allah's estimation." The Qur'ān conceived that there is nothing that can take the place of īmān.

And the reasons for this are given in a series of passages which date from the late Meccan period up until 3 A.H. when the battle of Uhud took place. E.g., it is īmān that makes the final distinction between the pious and the sinners 38.27. As the blind and the seeing are not deemed alike, so the believer and the sinner 40.60. Cf. also 32.18, 45.20. The reason for this is that without īmān one can neither recognise nor understand God's signs.

Only the believer in the signs can be made to hear God's call 27.83. All other men are "dead", "deaf", and "blind" 27.82f. Cf. also 30.51f. It is only believers in the signs that have the spirit of adoration and humility 32.15. The Qur'ān also is a "guidance" and a "healing" for "those who believe" 41.44. Jesus son of Mary enumerates His signs of healing the sick and raising the dead, etc., but adds, "Truly, in that is a sign for you if ye be believers."

In considering this close link between faith and understanding

of signs it is of interest to notice one or two verses which speak of a special kind of knowledge that belongs to believers only. E.g., in a verse that refers to the waverers in Medinah the Qur'ān mentions the simile of the gnat and then continues, "As for those who believe, they KNOW that it is the truth from the Lord; but as for those who disbelieve they say, 'What is it that Allah means by this as a simile?'" 2.24. In 3.5 it is "those who are well grounded in knowledge" who "believe in the Book." It is "those who have been given the knowledge" who "know" the truth and "believe" in it 22.53.

Imān is also necessary for forgiveness. It was because "the People of the Book" did not "believe and fear" that their offences were not covered 5.70. Faith too is necessary for guidance. It was those who believed whom Allah guided to the truth 2.209; and of believers the Qur'ān says that Allah "guides them by their faith" 10.9.

But although imān is so fundamental it is of itself not sufficient. Something more is required than an open profession of faith, or having faith written on one's heart. Apparently this was realised by the Qur'ān during the early Medinan period when the battles of Badr and Uhud were fought; at least the passages that teach this all belong to this critical stage in the development of Islām. "There is no fear" for the man who believes and acts aright ('aslah), nor will he be grieved 6.48.<sup>1</sup> In a verse dealing with the change of the qiblah and the adoption of the religion of Abraham we read, "righteousness" (birr) "is one who believes.....and who gives wealth.....and who is steadfast in prayer....." 2.172.

---

1. 20.111, 40.43, 2.23, 18.87.

Faith and works are also brought together in conjunction with repentance 19.61, 20.84, 25.70, 28.67. Again, faith may be connected with fear in the sense of piety 2.97, or with love for God 2.160, or with surrender 2.204. In this verse the phrase "enter into peace" may be understood to mean "become Muslims" but this is not certain since the whole passage is an appeal for unity among believers. In a verse that was given between Badr and Uhud īmān is connected with striving after the next life and with fighting in the cause of God 8.75, 17.20.

The point we are concerned to make, therefore, seems fairly clear, viz., the Qur'ān is not satisfied with īmān alone. And here the Qur'ān joins hands with the Old Testament. In both īmān is not an abstract thing. It is faith as it operates in the particular circumstances in which the people live. It was always practical. It is the faith of the New Testament Epistle of James, "I will show thee my faith by my works" 2.18; or again, "Faith without works is dead" 2.26. In the Qur'ān īmān divorced from works, or works divorced from īmān, is not sufficient. īmān is essential, and works must find their genesis and inspiration in faith 16.99. Not wealth nor children can secure a near approach to God but only faith and right acts 34.36.

It has already been suggested in this section (pp.9f.) that īmān may increase or decrease. This is a matter that has been disputed by Muslim theologians, and is one that is intimately bound up with the question of works. A.J.Wensinck, in his book The Muslim Creed p.45, points out that the community of the faithful refused to follow the Murdjites in their insistence that works are irrelevant to faith because they "thereby endangered the value of ethics." Lying behind this position was the conviction that



īmān could not be impaired by sin, nor is it liable to increase or decrease.

In his comment on the second article in the Wasiyat Abi Hanifa (which states that "faith is not liable to increase or decrease" on the grounds that these variations in īmān must depend on the increase or decrease of kufr, which would imply that "one should be faithful and infidel at the same time, and how is this possible?") Wensinck remarks that this was Murdjite doctrine in another form and implied that "faith was an entity by itself and independent of good works."

Bukhārī, however, in his essay on īmān declares that faith may increase and decrease, and this conviction is based upon the references in the Qur'ān to which attention has already been drawn on p.9f. However, in spite of these references orthodox Islām, as L. Levonian points out in his Studies in Islām and Christianity 60f., has refused to believe that īmān can be annulled by sins great or small. It is held that faith is quite compatible with evil deeds. This means that the mū'min can never become a kāfir deserving the punishment of hell. This point of view is certainly common throughout the Islamic world among the orthodox to-day.

Again, Article 18 of The Fikh Akbar 11 states that "the faith of the inhabitants of heaven and earth does not increase or decrease." But A.J.Wensinck points out that the MSS show a variation in the text. Some MSS "make a distinction between the objective and the subjective aspects of faith." The former never vary but the latter register variations both in certainty and intensity. In his Ihya' 1.112ff. al-Ghazzālī discusses the relation between faith and works and their inter-relations but it is clear that he is concerned primarily with the similarities rather than

with the differences between the two.

H. Massé in his L'Islām 104 sums up the question in the following words, ".....la question (of the increase or decrease of faith) reste en suspens, les uns considérant que la foi consiste essentiellement en l'acceptation intime (tasdiq), ce qui exclut toute variation, les autres estimant que la foi, reposant sur ce tasdiq et sur les bonnes oeuvres, peut être plus ou moins vive."

However, the Qur'ān was convinced that īmān could both increase and decrease; and not only so, it was certain that it could be lost altogether. It is striking that this conviction is expressed in a few passages that belong to the critical period after the Hijrah and up until just after Uhud. It would appear as if this was the most important period as far as formative influences in the doctrine of īmān in the Qur'ān are concerned.

In 3.94 the Jews are asked why they turn aside from the way of Allah those who have believed. This is again reflected in 7.84 where the prophet Shu'ayb urges the Midianites not to sit down in every path to threaten and turn from the path of Allah those who believe in Him. Just before Uhud the believers are warned against unbelievers who would seek to "turn them back upon their heels" 3.142. In 63.2,3 it is the Munāfiqīn who commit this sin.

In a post-Uhud passage the Qur'ān envisages the possibility of backsliding among the faithful after the death of Muhammed. The question is asked, "If he (Muhammed) dies or is killed will ye turn back upon your heels?" 3.138. It may have been this possibility that led the Qur'ān on occasion to warn the faithful against entering into intimate relations with unbelievers. We say "on occasion" because it depends entirely on the historical situation that impelled the Qur'ān to make such an appeal.

E.g., in the address delivered just before Uhud the believers are warned in the following unambiguous terms, "O ye who have believed, choose not bosom friends outside yourselves; they will not fail to corrupt you....." And here the political factor may be said to be as prominent as the religious one, though doubtless the latter was important. The formation of intimate friendships, and the entering into the marriage bond, with believers (which was forbidden about 6 or 7 A.H. when Muhammed was becoming much stronger) might have been reckoned to lead to dissaffection among believers.

In a verse that belongs to the Meccan period another reason for backsliding is hinted at. In 6.82 the Qur'ān remarks that it is "those who have believed, and have not confused (yalbisū, lit. clothed) their faith with wrong-doing (bizulm)" who are in security and are guided. Cf. in this connection 40.29 where we read of someone "concealing his faith." In a verse that warns against Jewish influences it is said that one may "exchange belief for unbelief" 2.102, while in 3.171 we are told that it is possible to purchase unbelief at the expense of belief.

Of course, a believer might be forced temporarily to apostatize from Islām. This is stated in a verse which belongs to the early Medinan period when Muhammed was still friendly with the Jews, but in that case Allah is forgiving and compassionate 5.5. But quite clearly the Qur'ān foresaw the possibility and the danger arising from, apostatizing from Islām; and perhaps the striking words which occur in 3.96 are to be understood from this point of view, "Whoso takes tight hold (ya'tasim) of Allah has been guided into the right way."

This deep significance that attaches to īmān in the Qur'ān emphasizes a point that has been noticed before in another connection. As a moral force that invades the higher reaches of the personality



īmān cannot finally be forced upon anyone. Before it can become operative in the moral life īmān must first win a spontaneous, a voluntary response from a man. "Let there be no compulsion in religion" undoubtedly represents an early stage in Islām, but the fact is that they were allowed (i.e. these words) to remain in the Qur'ān. In an early Medinan verse we read, "The truth is from your Lord, so let him who will, believe; and let him who will, disbelieve," 18.57.

Clearly it was not the view of the Qur'ān that an inevitable Fate decreed the destiny of men irrespective of their will or desire. The will of man is considered to be a decisive element in the destiny of the soul. After remarking that had Allah pleased all mankind would have believed, the Qur'ān asks the Apostle, "Wilt thou force (tukrih) men to become believers?" 10.99; implying that it would be folly to attempt such a thing. In a Meccan verse the Qur'ān tells the Apostle, "Yet most men, though thou shouldst covet it (walaw harasta) will not believe" 12.103, and cf. another verse which is late Meccan 13.30.

Men are summoned to the faith 40.10, but they disbelieve. In 6.124 where the Qur'ān has the Jews in view it is said that signs come to unbelievers but their response is, "We will not believe." In reply the Qur'ān remarks, "God knows best where to put His message (risālatahu)", suggesting that He will not place it where it will win no response. Towards the end of Muḥammed's life the Qur'ān says that it is Allah who "directs" (hada) men to the īmān 49.17; and it is the Lord who makes the faith attractive or beloved (habbab), and makes it appear beautiful (zayyanahu) in the hearts of men 49.7. It is in this sense that īmān is 'given' to the believer 30.56. It is God who inscribes it on the heart

58.22. By sending down His sakīnah He "obliges them" ('alzamahum) to keep "the word of piety", probably referring to the shahādah, the repeating of which was equivalent to a profession of faith 48.26.

When we ask why īmān is withheld from some men we discover that the Qur'ān suggests a variety of reasons. Faith, e.g., cannot be communicated to the heart that is "given to denial" 16.23 (a reference to the opposition of the Jews), or to people who are "self-conceited" 46.9f., 16.23. In 10.88 it is said that Moses prayed that the Lord might harden the hearts of Pharaoh and his nobles "that they may not believe." The same verse remarks that these people had been given "adornment and wealth" that they may err from the way of the Lord.

The intervention of Allah in a more immediate and direct sense may also contribute to unbelief in the heart. In 6.111 where the reference is probably to the Jews the Qur'ān remarks, "They would not have believed unless Allah had willed it." 10.95ff. is still more categorical, "Verily those against whom God's word is pronounced will not believe." Note also 18.53 which suggests that the only thing that "has prevented the people from believing" was "that there may come to them what was customary with people of long ago, or that the punishment may come to them beforehand."

But the human element is also a fundamental factor in unbelief. In spite of the fact that "Allah has placed a veil upon their hearts.....and in their ears is dullness of hearing" with the result that though they (in this instance the Jews in Medinah) saw a sign they would not believe therein 6.25, yet the Qur'ān is convinced that this veiling or sealing up of the heart is finally the outcome of deliberate rejection of the signs on the part of their own conscious volition; therefore, although the seal of

the Kāfirūn. See e.g., 7.99, a surah that recounts the rejection experienced by earlier prophets. The verse reads, "....messengers came to them with manifest signs; but they did not at all believe.....Thus does Allah set a seal on the hearts of the unbelievers." Doubtless we have here a reflexion of Muhammed's own experience. Cf. also 10.75. 63.3, which refers to the Hypocrites, speaks of those who "believed and then disbelieved, wherefore (i.e., because of kufr, which would have its genesis in the will) a seal is set on their hearts so that they do not understand."

And notice also 6.110 which refers to the Jews once again. "We will turn their hearts and their eyes away from the truth because they did not believe therein at the first." In this connection it is instructive to notice the remark made in a Meccan passage which is said to contain Medinan additions: "Verily, none of thy (Noah's) people will believe than have believed already." Do these two verses imply a serious view on the part of the Qur'an of the first or early hearing of the message being received with unbelief or indifference? And do we have here a reflexion of Muhammed's experience in his preaching? Had he noticed that there was little hope of faith ever being born in the heart that rejected the first call to Islām?

It was after the first deliberate acts of rejection were committed that God set a seal upon the heart. After that the chances of īmān ever gaining an entrance to the heart were remote. The causes of these first fatal acts of rejection might be varied. They might be due to the fear of man 10.83, or to the conviction that the Apostle was a mere man 17.96; but whatever the immediate cause the fundamental reason for the rejection was rooted in man's own conscious volition; therefore, although the seal of



Allah upon the heart makes it impervious to all subsequent exhortations and appeals man must accept full responsibility for his refusal to believe. believers would imply heirship of property

The things in which a Muslim must believe are so well known that they may be passed over here, but it may not be out of place to notice that the word īmān was used to express the idea of membership of a community, though this conception of faith is not very sharply formulated in the Qur'an.

At the beginning of the movement both those who assisted Muhammed (the 'ansār) and those who fled with him (the muhājirūn) were well defined groups among the mū'minūn. These two 'parties' formed a kind of unity and were thought of as belonging to the same kith and kin. In a verse belonging to the period between Badr and Uhud they are described as "friends" ('awliyā') but, as Dr Bell suggests, the term is used perhaps in the sense of next-of-kin upon whom devolved the duty of blood revenge, 8.73. However, by 5 or 6 A.H. the mū'minūn and the muhājirūn were described as blood-relations (see e.g. 33.6), and this was conceived to cancel or annul the special relations between the Muhājirūn and the Ansār.

This conception however does not seem to have taken deep root among the members of the wider fellowship because 8.73 is abrogated by the last verse of the same chapter which is "certainly later" (Bell) than v.73. In this later verse the various elements in the fellowship are listed- mū'minūn, muhājirūn, mujāhidūn and 'ansār; and then it continues, "These too belong to your (community) but blood relations are nearer to each other in the Book of Allah." 33.6 (which is dated 5 or 6 A.H.) expresses the same sentiments, "Blood relations are nearer in kin by the Book of Allah than the mū'minūn and the muhājirūn."

Perhaps one of the considerations that led to this later position~~s~~ was the question of property. Originally the conception of kinship between believers would imply heirship of property but the bonds of the family and clan would be too strong to admit the exclusion of blood relations when the question of property arose. But although the Qur'ān emphasized the indestructibility of blood relationships it also underlined the brotherhood of believers.

Significantly enough this is stressed in some verses of late date. E.g. 8.64 (the year 5.A.H.) speaks of God having knit together ('allaf bayn) the hearts of believers. Other verses are found in surah 49 which belongs to the last years of Muhammed's life. E.g., v.10 states that "the believers are brothers." Because of this, therefore, "if two parties of the believers quarrel" the other members of the community are to "set things right between them." If a party of believers commits an outrage against another, strong measures are to be taken against it until it returns to 'Allah's bidding" v.9. Because believers are brothers one class must not ridicule another who might be better than the other v.11. Nor must believers defame each other or harbour suspicions of one another or spy upon or backbite each other vv.11,12.

The Qur'ān continued to claim for the Prophet a unique relationship with all believers. He was nearer of kin to the believers than they were to each other and his wives were their mothers (33.6.); he was, therefore, the head of the family and leader of the community. This was, of course, inevitable, and it was because the Meccans had foreseen that some such leadership was implicit in Muhammed's claim to be a prophet that they opposed

Vl a 23.

Islām so bitterly.

Within the community of believers a way of life was followed which seems to have become the standard rule of conduct. The phrase sabīl al-<sup>al</sup>mu'minūn occurs in 4.115, a verse that was given after Uhud, and there it seems to imply a code of conduct that was incumbent upon all committed members of the fellowship of Islām. In a passage that belongs to the year 6.A.H. a code of conduct governing the sexual matters among the mu'minūn is laid down 24.30f. In 2.220 the male members of the community are warned against marrying idolatrous women. An injunction of this kind would help to create the sense of separateness within the conscience of believers.

The consciousness of community is also articulated in 60.10 which belongs to the period between Hūdaybiyah and the expedition to Mecca. The male members of the fellowship are urged to place on probation women who flee to the community and profess Islām. It is possible, of course, that this period of probation might have been established in order to see if the women were pregnant or not, but the fact remains that if, after the period of trial had expired, the women proved themselves bona fides believers the members of the community were not permitted to send them back to the unbelievers because by virtue of their conversion to Islām they were no longer lawful for the unbelievers. The sense of community is again expressed by the additional command in 60.10 that male believers are not to retain any rights over unbelieving women. They may depart if they so desire.

Within the community the life of each member was held sacred. If a believer killed another believer by mistake retribution in the shape of blood-money was to be paid 4.94, though blood was an



alternative. 4.95 says that hell is the reward of him who kills a believer intentionally but it is not clear whether this applies when the murderer is a believer. The serious view that the Qur'ān took of the killing of a believer is again expressed in 48.25 which was given shortly after Hudaibiyah. The subject of the verse is the prevention of believers from entering the Ka'bah, and it goes on to say that the possibility of believers trampling on each other and thus bringing a serious crime upon themselves was the only reason why they were dissuaded from forcing their way into the sacred precincts.

It is interesting to notice too the restraint paid upon believers regarding the property of unbelievers in certain circumstances. After Uhud the former were urged to refrain from imputing insincerity regarding the salutation offered by the latter 4.96. Apparently believers tended not to return the greeting that the salutation demanded. This was equivalent to saying that the persons concerned were unbelievers and was a sufficient pretext for attacking them and plundering their goods.

Within the community of believers marriage relationships were sacred. This applied even to marriage dowries. E.g. in 60.11 which was later than Hudaibiyah the Qur'ān says that if any of the wives of believers go off to join unbelievers the husbands of these women are to be reimbursed to cover the loss involved in these desertions. The sense of community among believers is also expressed in the injunction not to take as friends the unbelievers. Anyone who does so declares that "he is not of Allah's party at all" 3.27 (shortly before Uhud).

These foregoing references then suggest that īmān connoted membership of the community of believers in the minds of those who

were members of the fellowship. It was īmān that constituted the brotherhood of the mū'minūn. Doubtless there were other factors in the bond that bound them together; e.g., devotion to a common leader, obedience to a way of life common to all, the worship of Allah, etc., but the main factor was perhaps īmān.

It will have been observed that the word īmān and its derivatives occur in passages that belong to the late Meccan and the whole of the Medinan periods. Apparently in the early Meccan period the demand for īmān was not an overriding preoccupation with the Qur'ān, nor was it a very prominent feature in the original kerygma. But the time came when a community of believers did emerge, and this would almost compel the word īmān to assume a new significance, that of admittance to membership of a clearly defined religious community, especially when to join the community of Islām meant a break with the old order and a whole hearted committal to the new.

The word islām is used commonly in salutation, and means, may God save or preserve the person to whom the salutation is addressed. Our main interest is, of course, with the fourth form, aslam, which means to resign or submit oneself, to enter into a state of resignation or submission; i.e., to become a muslim.

Islām also means to be sincere in one's religion, to be without hypocrisy towards God. It is from this fourth form that the famous substantive islām is formed and means the state of submission into which the Muslim enters when he resigns himself to Allah. It follows from this that man in his 'natural' condition is not resigned or submitted to the will of God. This is because he has neglected to follow the right path. As long as he persists in this culpable neglect he has not resigned himself to

God, but it is precisely CHAPTER SIX that the Lord makes upon him when He calls him to Islam, to that state of surrender to enter into which makes him a Muslim.

It requires to be pointed out that the religious ideas expressed by the form GOD'S DEMANDS UPON MAN were first announced when he began to preach. It was only after the Hijrah that the Prophet began to operate with the terms that shall engage our attention in this section. But these terms, and the ideas which they express, seem ISLAM. taken root quickly and firmly, and the word Islam was

The next demand that we shall consider is one that is closely allied with imān. It is expressed by the famous term islām, which is now the name of the religion founded by Muhammed.

The original meaning of the root salam seems to be, to be safe or secure, to escape from evil, trial, faults, or defects. The second form, sallam, means to render safe or secure, to save or deliver. The form sallam is used commonly in salutation, and means, may God save or preserve the person to whom the salutation is addressed. Our main interest is, of course, with the fourth form, aslām, which means to resign or submit oneself, to enter into a state of resignation or submission; i.e., to become a muslim.

Aslam also means to be sincere in one's religion, to be without hypocrisy towards God. It is from this fourth form that the famous substantive islām is formed and means the state of submission into which the Muslim enters when he resigns himself to Allah. It follows from this that man in his 'natural' condition is not resigned or submitted to the will of God. This is because he has neglected to follow the right path. As long as he persists in this culpable neglect he has not resigned himself to

Iman is conceived to be more fundamental than Islam as that is



God, but it is precisely this demand that the Lord makes upon him when He calls him to Islām, to that state of surrender to enter into which makes him a Muslim.

It requires to be pointed out that the religious ideas expressed by the form 'islām were not present with Muḥammed when he began to preach. It was only after the Hijrah that the Prophet began to operate with the terms that shall engage our attention in this section. But the terms, and the ideas which they express, seem to have taken root quickly and firmly, and the word Islām was soon recognised as the standard name of the religion to which Muḥammed called his people.

We can well appreciate why this term, which seems to have come into vogue circa 2 A.H., was such a rock of offence to the leaders of Meccan political and mercantile life. It connoted the surrender of the personality to the will of Allah as that had been revealed to Muḥammed. It also emphasized the creatureliness of man and his dependence upon Allah's power; but this was the complete antithesis of the pride and self-sufficiency of Muḥammed's opponents, and for long they withheld surrender to the new faith.

It appears that the Qur'ān conceived that there was a clear distinction between 'īmān and 'islām. A.J. Wensinck in his book The Muslim Creed pp.22-23, is of the opinion that the terms 'īmān and 'islām are synonyms, as also are muslim and mu'min. For Wensinck the last two terms "comprise the whole body of those who had escaped from hell by embracing Islām." Now while a Muslim would not conceivably draw a distinction between himself and a mu'min the Qur'ān does seem to distinguish 'islām from 'īmān; and Wensinck points out that Tradition discriminated between them too. 'īmān is conceived to be more fundamental than 'islām as that is

understood in terms of performance of religious rites and duties. The tradition that A.J.Wensinck quotes runs as follows, "The Apostle of Allah used to say, 'Islām is external, faith belongs to the heart.' Thereupon he pointed to his heart three times, saying, The fear of God is here." Now we suggest that in the following references the Qur'ān itself makes this same distinction between 'islām as something external and 'imān as something that lies much deeper because it belongs to the heart.

It would appear that a man might resign himself to Allah without faith having entered his heart. See e.g. 49.14 which refers to the Bedouin who accepted Islām (they say, "We have become Muslims") but "belief had not entered their hearts". This must mean that 'islām might precede 'imān. Cf. also 28.53 where the Qur'ān, in speaking of the People of the Book, reports them as saying, "We believe in it (i.e. the Book), it is truth from our Lord; truly we were Muslims before it came."

But although a man might be a Muslim before becoming a mu'min he would, in that instance, be conceived to be on the way to becoming a mu'min. It is unlikely that a mu'min would not also be a muslim although in 3.97 the Qur'ān says, "O ye who believe .....die not save ye be resigned." Rodwell translates the last phrase as "till ye have become Muslims", while Dr Bell renders it, "except as Muslims". But however the words are translated they indicate that 'imān might precede 'islām.

Cf. 10.84 where because of a certain ambiguity it is impossible to say whether 'imān preceded or followed 'islām. In 11.17 the question, "Are ye then Muslims?" is put to those who refusing to give credence to a particular surah are challenged to bring ten others like it. Probably those addressed in this verse did

not have 'īman in their hearts yet the Qur'ān is not conscious of of any incongruity or irrelevancy in asking them if they are "resigned" (Muslims). The same question is addressed to unbelievers in 21.108.

If one resigned himself to God with firm belief in his heart then his 'islām would be deemed 'īman. I.e., "'islām is with the tongue and 'īman is with the heart." (A quotation supplied by Lane from Tha'lab). Naturally, of course, 'īman and 'islām would be brought together, and when connected with other religious principles such as repentance, fasting, etc., would form the 'beau idéal' of what a Muslim should be. Cf. 33.35, 66.5.

Taken at its face value the Qur'ān teaches that the religious concept of 'islām did not originate with Muḥammed. The explanation of this has already been referred to in section V a 26f. C. Snouck Hurgronje, in his essay, "Une Nouvelle Biographie de Mohammed", included in the volume, Verspreide Geschriften pp.332ff., points out that at the beginning Muḥammed was not antagonistic towards the Jews or the Christians in Arabia. He appears to have considered that each community or people in the past to whom a prophet or apostle chosen of God had been sent had had revelations mediated to them through these messengers.

The Qur'ān does not seem to think that there were any essential differences between these prophets, and we have already noticed that much of what the Qur'ān has to say about those earlier apostles is simply a reflection of the experiences through which Muḥammed himself passed during the course of his work. The latter was convinced that between him and his predecessors in the prophetic office there was no difference at all. But when he settled in



Medinah, and came into personal contact with Jews and Christians, he soon realised that they did not share his ideas regarding his relations with past prophets, and that they would not in fact ever accept his claim to be on an equal footing with Moses or Jesus son of Mary.

But this rejection of his claims did not shake Muhammed's convictions. Indeed it had quite the opposite effect. He assumed that the refusal on the part of the Jews and Christians of his claims to be a prophet was proof that they had not been true to their own scriptures. The rebuff that Muhammed met with in Medinah marks the beginning of a period during which he became more conversant with the contents of the Jewish and Christian scriptures, and gradually he arrived at a solution that enabled him to extricate himself from the impasse in which he had been placed.

He did this by placing his own call to the prophetic office in as close a relationship as possible not with that of Moses or Jesus son of Mary but with Abraham. Muhammed realised that although the latter was honoured equally by both Jews and Christians he had in fact been neither a Jew nor a Christian. He had been an idolater, but on forsaking idolatry had become a Muslim and/or a hanif. Thus by placing himself in the closest rapport with Abraham Muhammed solved the deadlock created by his non-observance of the Jewish law (i.e. the law of Moses) and his rejection of the doctrine of salvation by Christ alone; both of which were inexplicable if he contended (as he had done earlier) that he had simply entered into the prophetic heritage of Moses and Jesus son of Mary.

Another important factor in this matter was the tradition that

Abraham was the ancestor of the Arabs. In addition, tradition made him the founder of the Ka'bah, which provided Muḥammed with an excellent reason for making the Hajj an integral part of Islām. In this way Islām maintained a close connection with the Ka'bah and all that it stood for in terms of political significance etc. All that remained to be done was to divest the worship of the Ka'bah of its idolatry. In this way it was claimed that Muḥammed restored it to what it had been when Abraham had instituted it in ancient times.

With this historical background in mind we are now ready to glance at the references in which the Qur'ān refers to past prophets as Muslims. E.g., Abraham, who in 2.125 received the command from his Lord, "Surrender thyself", replied, "I have surrendered myself (I have become a Muslim) to the Lord of the worlds." In 37.103 Isaac is included in the act of resignation. In 12.102 Joseph prays to the Lord that He might take him to Himself a Muslim. In 6.162 the Qur'ān reports Muḥammed saying that

Cf. 7.123 where the people of Pharaoh pray, "...and call us in (i.e., to Thyself at death) as Muslims." In 10.84 Moses urges the Children of Israel, "Trust in Him (God) if ye have surrendered yourselves." In 3.45 the disciples of Jesus son of Mary ask him to witness that they are Muslims. Again in 27.45 the Qur'ān reports the Queen of Sheba as follows, "I surrender myself with Solomon to God the Lord of the worlds." The prophets in general are also spoken of as having surrendered themselves 5.48. In 3.19 the question, "Are ye too resigned?" is addressed to the People of the Book and to the 'ummyyīn (the common folk).

Dr Jeffery suggests that the word that occurs here in the plural is a loan word from Hebrew. The Hebrew word 'ummah is found in

the Old Testament and means tribeor people. In Ps.117.1 it is parallel with the famous word gōim, Gentiles. Possibly that is the significance of the Arabic 'umyyīn in this Qur'anic verse 3.19, but it might also refer to the illiterate heathen Arabs to whom no revelation had been granted. Dr Bell suggests that the word in 3.19 carries with it a certain degree of depreciation and connects it with the Jewish phrase, 'am hā ārets.

The conviction on Muhammed's part that he was simply re-establishing the religion God had given to Abraham makes the remark, "I am commanded to be the first of those resigned" 6.14,163, 39.14, 40.68, seem at first sight a puzzle. Clearly the Qur'ān wishes it to be understood that Muhammed is using these words with reference to himself, and yet, as we have just noticed, the Qur'ān does connect very firmly the surrender of Muhammed with that of Abraham.

Cf. e.g. 3.60 where the latter is described as a hanīf, a muslim, while in 6.162 the Qur'ān reports Muhammed saying that God had guided him "to the right way, a right religion, the faith of Abraham the hanīf....." And cf. also 4.124 where the Qur'ān asks, "Who has a better religion than he who surrenders himself to God, and does good, and follows the faith of Abraham, as a hanīf?"

There are perhaps two observations to make on Muhammed's words, "I am the first of those who surrender themselves." When considered in the light of the Qur'anic conviction that Islām, far from being a new religion, or one that had close affinities with Judaism or Christianity, was in fact the religion of Abraham the words are a reminder that the Arabs had no conception of history as the term is understood to-day. The Qur'ān betrays little if any sense or awareness of historical development, no surrender to God on the part of man the Qur'an underlines the



notion of progress or evolution in human ideas or culture.

And then again we ought perhaps to conclude that by the words "the first to be resigned" the Qur'ān means that Muhammed was the first of his generation to surrender himself to God not the first of God's creatures. He was the first of his generation to become a Muslim in the sense in which that term is used in Islām. But those who paid heed to the message of the Qur'ān would in turn seek to surrender themselves to Allah as the Prophet had done.

3.18 makes it clear that this act of submission was implicit in the decision to follow Muhammed. And since Islām was identical with the religion of Abraham it follows that Islām is the only true religion. Cf. 3.17 where we are told, "Verily, the (true) religion is God's sight is Islām"; and in v.79 the Qur'ān states, "Whosoever craves (yabtagh) any other religion than Islām, that religion shall never be accepted from him, and in the Hereafter he shall be among the lost."

This is why the Qur'ān asks incredulously, "Shall He (Allah) bid you disbelieve again after you are Muslims?" 3.74; and why it is that he who has resigned himself to Allah and does good has "grasped the firm handle" 31.21, "has taken hold of the surest hand-grip" (Bell), and is therefore secure. In this regard 5.5 is also important. There the Qur'ān quotes words that are addressed to the followers of Islām, "To-day have I (Allah) perfected your religion for you.....and it is My pleasure that Islām be your religion....."

And as in the case of 'iman, 'islam is also a demand that God makes upon man and is one in which the volition of man is an important factor. It is true that in this religious act of self-surrender to God on the part of man the Qur'ān underlines the

reality of predestination; on the other hand not only is the volition of man not lost sight of, it is seen to be more prominent than the concept of divine decree. *initiative, also underlines*

There is a sense in which everything in heaven and on earth must be surrendered to the will of God, the moral government of the universe makes this inevitable and necessary. From that point of view, therefore, the Qur'ān lays it down as a fundamental necessity that all in heaven and on earth "surrenders....willingly or unwillingly" to God 3.77. But when it is a question of man's submission to God in the strictly religious sense his volition is quite clearly one of the deciding factors. *where the man whose*

Of course, in a very real sense the act of surrender to Allah on the part of a man finds its genesis in divine initiative. It is Allah who calls (yud'ā) to Islām 61.7. Abraham's submission is conceived to start with the divine command, "Surrender thyself" ('aslim) 2.125. In quoting the Prophet the Qur'ān says, "I am forbidden (nuhītu) to serve those on whom ye call beside God.... and I am commanded ('umirtu) to be resigned ('uslima) unto the Lord of the worlds" 40.68; the sharp contrast between "forbidden" and "commanded" emphasizes the element of divine initiative in a man's surrender to Allah. Cf. also 6.70 where the Qur'ān *leads* quotes Muslims in general as saying, "We have been commanded to surrender ourselves to the Lord of the worlds", though here the command is brought into close connection with the guidance of Allah, which is described as "the guidance". *signifying that even*

Because of this there can be no thought of offering this submission as a favour to the Prophet. Rather it is Allah who, by guiding men to 'iman, is showing favour to them 49.17. The more so since divine initiative includes many signal favours and

gracious blessings, and all bestowed in order to create within the hearts of the recipients a disposition towards Islām 16.82f. This passage, while emphasizing divine initiative, also underlines human volition since it implies that all the endeavours on the part of God to bring men to submission to Himself may be defeated by their refusal; a refusal that is expressed by the words that follow immediately, "But if they turn their backs....."

It is Allah who guides to the way of peace (salam) 5.18, and in those He wishes to guide He creates a disposition to be guided, and disposes the heart towards Islām, "He enlargeth his breast for Islām", 6.125. Cf. also 39.23 where the man whose breast God has expanded for Islām is spoken of as being "in light from his Lord." It is this aspect of the matter that enables us to understand Abraham's prayer, "....and make us resigned to Thee" 2.122.

The words, "and make us", are a translation of 'aj'alnā. But this guidance, and the formation of a disposition towards Islām in the heart, are in no way arbitrary, dependent upon the whim of a capricious Deity. The man whom Allah guides into the way of salam is one "who follows His pleasure" (ridwān) 5.18; i.e. one who has already set his heart to find the way of peace which leads to the act of submission.

This freedom of the will to surrender to, or reject, the will of God is further expressed in 9.75 where we are told of some who "disbelieved after they had embraced Islām", signifying that even after a man has surrendered himself to God he will not be held to that submission if he chooses to go back upon it. Human volition is also underlined in 2.126 where the Qur'an reports Abraham commanding his sons and Jacob in the following terms,



"....Allah has chosen for you a religion, do not therefore die unless ye become Muslims." Cf. also 3.97.

In many passages the act of surrender to Allah is coupled with 'īman.<sup>1</sup> It is perhaps a coincidence but it may be worthwhile to point out that in every one of these references 'īman precedes 'islām. In 39.55 surrender is connected with tawbah, but again the former follows the latter. And as a man may increase in 'īman so he may increase in submission. In 33.22 we read, "it only increaseth them in belief and in surrender."

But the fact that a man has entered into both 'īman and 'islām does not remove the necessity for endeavour and effort in "the way of Islām". Muslims must "strive after the right direction" 72.14, and press on to win the reward laid up for him who "submits himself to Allah and is kind"; a reward that brings with it neither fear nor grief 2.106, and that includes entrance into dar al-'islām 6.127, 10.26. This latter phrase may have a political as well as an eschatological significance. How different the fate is of those who refuse to submit themselves to Allah may be gathered from 7.44, 15.2, 39.55.

The Qur'anic use of the root salam does not fail to underline the basic meaning of the term, that of being in a state of security or peace. Those who believe are invited to enter into peace 2.204. Probably the phrase "enter into the bond of peace" may be an appeal for unity among believers, though Palmer points out that the word for peace (salm) might also be taken as "a synonym for resignation", i.e., for Islām. The Qur'ān bids the Prophet greet the believers with the words, "Peace be on you" 6.54. This is also a favourite expression in the Qur'ān concerning some of the better known prophets, e.g., Noah 37.77, Abraham 37.109, Moses 37.120, Elias

37.130, John the Baptist 19.15. Jesus son of Mary pronounces the words with reference to himself while still in the cradle 19.34. In 37.181 it has reference to the apostles in general, in 27.60 to God's servants whom He has chosen, and in 20.49 to "him who follows the guidance."

It is highly probable that in the minds of the Muslims the word salam, when used with reference to believers, would be closely connected with the thought of surrender to God. These were men who had submitted themselves to God and were already in peace, otherwise the piouswish expressed upon them would be empty of all reality. The same association of ideas may also be allowed in the following uses of the word peace in the Qur'an. E.g., we read of certain people who die offering "peace" to the angels 16.30, and to Allah 16.89, but it is then too late. Used in that context one cannot but believe that the offer of peace is equivalent to an offer to surrender oneself to Allah, but what would have been effective in life is now worthless in death, the period of probation having expired.

But it is indisputable that the Qur'an uses the term apart from the strong theological aura that has come to be shed around it, and in these instances it means felicity, safety, escape from the ills and evils of this life, as e.g., when the Lord greets the believers in paradise 36.58, or when the keepers of paradise salute the faithful as they enter into eternal bliss 39.73, 13.24, or when believers congratulate each other and mingle their greetings with shouts of praise to Allah 10.10, who in 59.23 is called the Peace-giver.

---

References under 1 on p.11. 2.130, 3.45,78, 5.111, 27.83, 29.45, 43.69, 10.90, 16.104.

## CHAPTER SIX

### GOD'S DEMANDS UPON MAN

#### TAWBAH.

We shall now consider the demand of repentance that the Qur'ān lays upon man. Though it may be conceived that tawbah is not quite so fundamental as 'imān or 'islām it is nonetheless a demand that cannot be refused with impunity.

The root which the Qur'ān uses to express this demand is tāb meaning to turn to, or turn from, a twofold significance which is seen in the two phrases tāb min dhanb and tāb 'ilā Allah. It is easy to see therefore how this root came to be used to express the theological concept of repentance since to turn to God implied the turning from some opposite spiritual principle. Such an act of turning from sin to God necessarily implied an acknowledgement that one's course of life had been wrong and that one regretted such a course of action. The regret was so real that it issued in an entirely new course of conduct, the inspiration and motive power of which was attachment to God.

The root also occurs in Hebrew (shūbh) and is used in the Old Testament to express the idea of repentance although its use in this sense is not so extensive as in the Qur'ān where it occurs very frequently. Dr Jeffery is of the opinion that tāb is a loan word from Aramaic although he does not rule out the possibility that the root may have come in to Arabic from Syrian Christian sources.



We shall see later that tawbah can be predicated of God Himself in the Qur'ān as, of course, it is in the Old Testament. He too turns, not from a course of past action that was wrong but turning towards man in the sense that He is adopting a new attitude towards him. Whereas He acted severely towards a man He now turns to him in forgiveness. But such a turning towards man on God's part is made dependent upon man's turning to God. In God's turning towards a man there is implicit the acceptance on God's part of a man's repentance, a readiness to accept as sincere the man's turning from disobedience to obedience toward God.

It is this latter aspect of repentance that the Qur'ān emphasizes in its use of tāb. E.g. 5.43 indicates that to repent is to turn from wrongdoing (zulm) and to set things right. 7.152 talks of those who, having done evil deeds, turn to the Lord. These indicate a turning from a settled course of action, an evil way of life, and before a man can be brought within the realm of divine blessing he must repent, i.e. he must turn from his evil way of life and turn to obedience toward God.

In 2.51 it is not a sinful way of life that is in view but one specific evil deed; but the sinful act is idolatry of which the Qur'ān takes a particularly serious view, and therefore although this was an isolated deed not symptomatic of an ingrained habit the Children of Israel had to repent. Repentance is demanded even when the sinful act has been committed, or the course of life followed, in complete ignorance. The fact that the evil was done in ignorance did not exonerate from guilt. Pardon was available only after the guilty person had turned again 6.54. Cf. also 16.120. And 4.21 says that "Allah is bound to turn towards" those who have done evil "in ignorance" only if "they repent shortly

after" and turn again to the Lord.

But when a man did repent sincerely of his evil deeds he always found Allah waiting to be gracious to him. The Qur'ān often speaks of God turning to men but in almost every case man's repentance precedes God's act of turning toward men. And Allah repents towards men because He is forgiving and merciful 5.43, 2.51, 4.21, 25.71. In 9.103 God relents towards men when they confess their sin, but such an open acknowledgement of sin may be reckoned to be tantamount to repentance, a regretting and a turning from sin. With true insight the Qur'ān calls Allah the Acceptor of repentance (qābil 't-tawb) 40.2. Cf. also 9.105, 42.24.

But there are one or two references which speak of a divine repentance which is neither accompanied by nor preceded by human repentance. E.g. 5.75 speaks of men having become blind and deaf as the result of an evil course of life, and it is clear that it is spiritual or moral blindness and deafness that are meant. But Allah was so merciful that "He turned to them", but this divine clemency failed of its objective because "many of them became blind and deaf (again)". I.e., when God relented towards them He removed their spiritual blindness and deafness which, however, returned when they assumed their old evil ways of life.

Adam was also the object of a divine repentance which was not a reaction to human repentance on the part of God. It was mercy that was unconditioned. 2.35 tells us that Adam "caught certain words from his Lord", after which God relented towards him. Dr Bell translates, "Adam chanced upon certain words from his Lord", while Rodwell renders the phrase, "and words (of prayer) learned Adam

from his Lord." The latter would make Adam's prayer the ground of divine clemency and tawbah, but, of course, Rodwell's rendering is really an interpretation. Adam's experience as described in 20.119f. is an even more striking example of divine initiative in repentance. In v.119 the Qur'an tells how "Adam rebelled against his Lord and went astray", but v.120 goes on to relate how God "chose him and relented towards him and guided him."

And apparently a third party can play little part in this matter of tawbah. In 3.123 Muhammed is told, "Thou hast nothing to do with the affair." In this instance "the affair" concerns God's relenting towards unbelievers or punishing them. If Allah adopts the latter course He will be doing them no injustice because they are already "wrongdoers". The same thought is expressed in 33.24. There it is said that God may reward the faithful for their faithfulness; and punish the Munāfiqīn or relent towards them "if He so willeth"; but if He does punish the latter He will not be wronging them at all since they are the Hypocrites. It is true that 9.15,27 says that God "turns to whom He pleases" but no injustice is implied because in the first instance the statement is followed by the reminder that "God is knowing and wise" v.15, and in the second by the remark that "God is forgiving and merciful" v.27.

2.183 suggests that God's relenting towards men does not always have a theological significance. In this verse it means divine clemency towards the believers who had been "defrauding" themselves in certain regards during the Fast, and the clemency manifested itself in removing the occasions of unnecessary self-denial. In another passage the Qur'an speaks of Allah turning towards believers in the hope that they might turn towards Him 9.118f.,



while in 58.14 God relents towards certain believers who have been guilty of withholding alms in the hope that His relenting might lead to amendment of life and religious practice.

It will have been noticed from the foregoing that tawbah includes a feature to which reference was made when 'imān and 'islām were under discussion. The divine will does not cancel out human initiative. In the divine economy both may co-operate together without violating the 'rights' of either. When a man, of his own volition, and in sincerity, repents and turns humbly to God he will find God turning towards him in mercy, and meeting him in forgiveness.

And even when a man does not 'fulfil' this necessary condition God may still turn towards him in the hope that His mercy will awaken tawbah in his heart, and lead him to forsake his evil ways and amend his life. But in no case does God act as an irresistible automaton, a capricious Deity who acts in an arbitrary fashion in this matter of tawbah. 20.84 well expresses Allah's attitude towards a man's repentance, "I am forgiving towards him who repents and believes and acts aright and then is guided." Cf. also 2.155. Everything here is made to depend on the volition of man.

In common with 'imān and 'islām, tawbah rarely if ever stands alone in the Qur'ān. It is not repentance by itself that effects a change in God's attitude towards man but repentance plus other of the demands that are laid upon man. In 3.83 it is linked with right action ('aṣlah). See also 5.43, 6.54, 24.5. And in several passages these two, tawbah and 'aṣlah, are coupled together with 'imān. See e.g. 7.152, 19.61, 25.70, 28.67.

At the end of 25.31 the call to repent is addressed specifically

to believers, while in 66.8 the call is almost a command, "O ye who believe turn repentant to God with sincere repentance." Apparently the Qur'ān did not conceive repentance to be confined to one single dramatic moment when, by virtue of his turning from sin to God, a man became a member of the community of the faithful. Tawbah is as relevant to believers as it is to the kāfirūn. Indeed it remains a constant demand laid upon the believer, a daily responsibility, a religious exercise that has to be practised continually. In 66.8 'īmān and tawbah are made the grounds upon which God covers a believer's sins and rewards him with the delights of paradise, while in 25.70 the Qur'ān adds to these right action which, taken together, are the grounds upon which God changes a believer's evil deeds to good.

Joined to steadfastness in prayer and the giving of alms repentance would purchase the polytheist's liberation from the believers 9.5, while in 9.11 this threefold cord was to bind the idolaters to the believers as brothers in religion. It is rather striking that in these two instances the more fundamental demands of 'īmān and 'islām are not mentioned.

In 40.7 the Bearers of the Throne, in asking Allah to pardon those who believe, do so not only on the grounds that God's mercy "is wide enough for all things" but also because believers repent and follow His way. In a passage where usury is treated the Qur'ān declares war on believers who continue to dabble in this practice, but if they repent they are to be allowed to retain their capital 2.279.

In certain conditions, of course, tawbah may be unavailing. E.g., the repentance of a backslider is entirely inefficacious. See 3.84 where we read, "Those who disbelieve after believing,

and then increase in unbelief, their repentance shall not be accepted." The repentance of the man who dies impenitent is likewise unavailing. This is also true of the man who attempts a death-bed repentance. On these two points the Qur'ān speaks in unambiguous terms, "His (Allah's) turning again is not for those who do evil until, when death comes before one of them, he says, 'I repent now': nor yet for those who die in unbelief. For such as these have We prepared a painful punishment" 4.22.

In certain circumstances tawbah in this life might be fruitless. E.g., in 5.38 the Qur'ān speaks of "those who make war against Allah and His Apostle", and threatens them with dreadful punishment at the hands of the believers; a punishment that was to be meted out to all among those who fought against Allah save those among them "who repent before ye (believers) have them in your power."

In the article on Tawbah The Encyclopaedia of Islam refers to Ghazzālī's Ihyā' bk.1V where the famous Islamic theologian points out that the validity of tawbah depends on three things. (1) Conviction of sin; (2) Remorse; (3) Firm resolution to abstain from sin in the future. Cf. also 4.21f., 9.105, 43.24. Where these conditions are fulfilled Allah always accepts tawbah, not from obligation but in virtue of His eternal will. The brief review of the Qur'anic passages that refer to tawbah will readily show how closely Ghazzālī's teaching on repentance agrees both in spirit and content with that of the Qur'ān.

The Qur'anic doctrine of repentance is characterised by high ideals, and reveals a fine insight into the nature of God and a true understanding of man and his moral dilemma. Sin, as we have seen, is an offence against God and therefore tawbah is in-



dispensable for salvation. But in the Qur'ān the emphasis is on the ease and the eagerness with which Allah turns towards those who repent, and upon the necessity, on the other hand, of repentance in man in order to provide the necessary grounds upon which God might exercise His clemency in relenting towards men. The Qur'ān's insistence on the inefficacy of tawbah in the case of the hardened and confirmed backslider, of the person who seeks to repent at the end of a life that has never known submission to the will of God, and of the man who dies in unbelief reveal a true appreciation of the nature of sin and of the meaning of tawbah, a fine insight into the fruits that it is meant to bear in daily life and into the moral significance of life. The Qur'anic doctrine of repentance sheds much light on its view of the nature of man, his dependence upon God, and of the inevitable direction and disastrous result of a life lived in defiance of God.

The root that the Qur'ān uses to express this fundamental need of man's nature is wakal. The verbal forms that occur in the Qur'ān are confined to the second and fifth forms. Neither the original meaning of the root (i.e. to leave someone to his own opinion or judgment, to evade interference with someone), nor the significance of the second form (i.e. to appoint, entrust, or commission someone to undertake a duty or fulfil an office - of: 6.89 where the Book is entrusted (wakal) to believers, and 32.11 where the angel of death is "given charge" of unbelievers - the only two instances where the form wakal is used in the Qur'ān) has any relevance for the use of the primitive root in the Qur'anic doctrine of man.

It is the fifth form, tasakkal, that will engage our attention

GOD'S DEMANDS UPON MAN

'ITTİKĀL.

The demand by Allah for 'īmān suggests that man lives in proud sinful independence of his Creator, 'islām shows man living in conscious neglect of the way of truth, and the demand for tawbah suggests that man is following a course of life that is both sinful in nature and evil in practice. The next demand, that of 'ittikāl, trust or reliance, suggests that man is finite, frail, infirm in himself and requires support and assistance in the stress of earthly life which God alone can supply.

The root that the Qur'ān uses to express this fundamental need of man's nature is wakal. The verbal forms that occur in the Qur'ān are confined to the second and fifth forms. Neither the original meaning of the root (i.e. to leave someone to his own opinion or judgment, to evade interference with someone), nor the significance of the second form (i.e. to appoint, entrust, or commission someone to undertake a duty or fulfil an office- cf. 6.89 where the Book is entrusted (wakkal) to believers, and 32.11 where the angel of death is "given charge" of unbelievers- the only two instances where the form wakkal is used in the Qur'ān) has any relevance for the use of the primitive root in the Qur'anic doctrine of man.

It is the fifth form, tawakkal, that will engage our attention

in considering it as a demand that God lays upon man. It means to rely upon, confide in, and even to submit oneself to, another. It also means to accept responsibility for the conduct or management of affairs, to undertake to act as an administrator, but this second meaning is not expressed in the Qur'ān.

As was only to be expected the object of man's reliance or confidence in the Qur'ān is Allah who is often referred to as the wakīl. Indeed it is because Allah is wakīl in the Qur'ān that man may confide in, and rely upon, Him. God is the only excellent Protector (ni'm al-wakīl) 3.167, who alone sufficeth to undertake one's case 4.131, because to Him belongs what is in heaven and on earth 4.169. He is the Lord of the earth and the world, there is no god but He 73.9, therefore the Qur'ān urges men to rely upon Allah for He is sufficient as trustee 33.3,47. The whole phrase reads, tawakkal 'alā Allah wakafa bi'llah wakīl. In 17.2 the Children of Israel are urged to take no guardian or trustee apart from Allah.

It appears from the Qur'ān that the injunctions in surah 33 noted above were addressed to the Prophet when he was discouraged and depressed by the opposition of the Hypocrites 33.1,47 for various reasons, and he was inclined to succumb to the temptation to accommodate himself to the wishes of his enemies 33.1-3; but doubtless the Qur'ān's assurance that Allah watcheth over all things 6.102, 39.63, and has all things in His charge 11.15, would restore to Muḥammed the conviction that Allah and His cause would finally prevail.

The Qur'ān also gives an insight into the Prophet's tendency to be anxious concerning the strong body of public opinion that was against him. The Qur'ān found it necessary repeatedly to



convince Muhammed that the unbelief and the active opposition of his enemies were not his responsibility as, in fact, he seems to have thought they were. In 6.107 he is told that he is neither a keeper (hafiz) nor a guardian (wakil) over idolaters. Cf also 42.4. In 39.42 the Qur'an tells him that those who err from the truth are not entrusted to his keeping, nor those who turn back 4.83, nor has he any authority over God's servants in general 17.67, nor responsibility for the man who takes his passions as a god, 25.45.

So anxious was the Prophet for success that he even pleads with Allah on behalf of self-deceivers 4.107, but in five verses he is either told or he himself announces that he is not a trustee over those who accuse the Qur'an of falsehood 6.66, who err from the truth 10.108, who choose patrons apart from Allah 6.107, 42.4, or who reject the Qur'an as a revelation 39.42.

And not only does Allah have charge over what is in heaven and on earth; His guardianship extends even to the words that men utter. In 12.66 Jacob, after having extracted an oath from his sons to bring back their younger brother from Egypt, reminds them that "Allah over what you say hath charge", implying that God feels a personal responsibility in the matter of oaths and their observance; He must see to it that they are honoured or take steps to punish those who fail to do so.

In recounting the story of Moses' escape from Egypt, and his arrival in Midian, the Qur'an reports the agreement made between the Old Testament Jethro and Moses in which the latter declares that he wishes to marry one of Jethro's daughters. Jethro ends the conversation by saying, "Allah is trustee of what we say", meaning that God will see to it that the contract into which

they have entered will be honoured. It is highly probable that here we have a reflection of 'theological' concepts in pre-Islamic times. The god (or God) would be conceived to take part in the oath or covenant, and thereafter watch over it. In this way the agreement would become something outside and higher than the parties concerned, and distinctively 'holy'. These ideas would also attach to a promise made by an individual. By an oath he would, so to speak, fill the promise with his soul thus making the uttering of the oath a holy act.

When we remember the historical situation that obtained in the ancient Semitic world we can better understand the purpose and importance of oaths. Before there was a collective national life, with an accepted code of laws and a strong executive, any convention formed among men had to be of the nature of a mutual understanding; and when the agreement was one of high import it was made as binding as the circumstances of the time allowed, by the parties to it subjecting themselves with all due solemnity to an oath.

It is well known, of course, that such concepts are common in the Old Testament. As in the Qur'ān so too in the Old Testament God was thought of as being the Guardian over the words that men uttered, and more especially over the oaths which they made between each other. E.g., in Gen.31 we read of Jacob and Laban entering into a covenant with each other by which they bound themselves to observe certain things vv.50,52. They then each set up a pillar or heap of stones, and Laban said, "This heap is witness between me and thee this day" v.48. And then he added words of deep significance, "The Lord watch between me and thee when we are absent one from another.....See God is witness betwixt me and

thee" vv.49f. The meaning is fairly obvious. It was conceived that God was listening to the oaths that the two parties were swearing, and in the future He would watch over each of the two men and see to it that they observed the oaths by which they had bound themselves.

This same conception is found in 1Sam.20. The two men concerned are David and Jonathan. In v.8 David says to Jonathan, "Thou hast brought thy servant into a covenant of the Lord with thee." Again, in v.23 Jonathan says, "As touching the matter which thou and I have spoken of (i.e. the covenant or oath) behold the Lord is between thee and me for ever."

The same thought is repeated in v.42 only in more solemn terms because it is said that the oath was to extend to their progeny. The verse reads, "The Lord shall be between me and thee, and between my seed and thy seed for ever." I.e., the Lord was to see to it that the terms of the covenant into which David and Jonathan had entered by an oath were to be observed by each. The working out of this oath is referred to in 2Sam.21.7 where we read that "the king (David) spared Mephibosheth the son of Jonathan.....because of the Lord's oath that was between them, between David and Jonathan." Again the thought that God was the Guardian of the oaths and covenants between men is unmistakable.

But to return to the Qur'ān. In 16.93 the command to keep oaths is most explicit, ".....and do not violate oaths after their confirmation, and your having set Allah as guarantor over you; assuredly Allah knoweth what ye do." This makes 5.91 more striking where the Qur'ān lays it down that oaths may be violated. It is true that this verse demands that such violation must be atoned by some form of penance, but that this opened the door to



various malpractices is fairly evident. This principle of violation is confirmed in 66.1f., which was 'sent down' after Muhammed's affair with Mary the Copt. V.2 says quite categorically, "Allah hath made legal for you (Muhammed) the annulling of your oaths." And again, "Allah was their Guardian, for

It is an added interest to note that 5.91 is placed in the mid-Medinan period while 66.1f., is dated 8 A.H. by Dr Bell though with a measure of reservation. In this last reference the principle of violation of oaths is applied to the Prophet himself. Dr Margoliouth in his book The Early Development of Mohammedanism 48f., draws attention to the serious nature of such a principle. He says, "The tendency here.....is towards laxity; and it has had the decidedly serious result that there appears to be no mode known to Mohammedan law whereby an oath can be made legally binding....." Apparently the emphasis in Islamic law was laid not on the binding nature of oaths and the question of perjury in the event of their being violated, but upon the compensations required to be made.

Two verses in surah 17 are of interest because they indicate that if a man has not God as his wakil then he has no guardian or trustee at all. The first verse (v.70) refers to men who perish in a storm at sea, or upon whom a sand storm descends making it impossible for them to find their way and so causing them to perish. The second verse (v.88) mentions the possibility of revelations being withheld by God from the Prophet, in which case he finds it impossible to procure a wakil against Allah. The in the two references is that a certain set of circumstances may be engineered by God and if in this situation man is forsaken by God he is completely helpless. God alone is a sufficient wakil.

These consideration lead us to expect that the Qur'ān demands reliance upon Allah and upon no one else on the part of man. 9.130 is typical of this point of view. It reads, "Allah is enough for me, there is no god but He, upon Him do I rely, for He is the Lord of the mighty Throne." And again, "Allah was their Guardian, for on Allah surely the believers rely" 3.118. Cf. also 5.14. And the God whom the Qur'ān claims to reveal was well worthy of man's trust and reliance since He is the Living One who dies not 25.60, the Mighty, the Merciful One whose knowledge of man is perfect 22.217.

In a number of passages 'ittikāl is brought into close connection with 'imān, which is what one would expect since it is only believers who rely upon God. In 5.26 the Children of Israel are commanded to rely upon Allah "if ye be believers". Cf. also 10.84, 67.29; while in 8.2 reliance upon God is mentioned as one of the hall-marks of the true believer. The Qur'ān also makes divine guidance another ground for reliance upon God 14.15, while it mentions the patient as being those who rely upon God 16.44, 29.59, and those who incline to peace 8.63. It is natural therefore that the Qur'ān should say, Allah loves those who place their trust (upon Him)" 3.153.

To confide in God is equivalent to "standing upon obvious truth" 27.81, therefore in all circumstances man should rely upon Him and upon Him alone when he is being slandered 58.11, unfairly treated 33.47, rejected 10.72, 13.29, plotted against 11.58f., made the subject of disputatious talk 42.8, and surrounded by unreliable men 4.83. Man's only safe refuge is God. As the Qur'ān remarks with fine insight, "Nor comes my grace through anyone but God; on Him do I rely....."

And this confidence in Allah protects a man from the evil one since the latter has no power (sultān) over those who believe and upon their Lord rely 16.100f., nor can the man who confides in God ever fail of any good purpose in life. "Whoever relies on God, He is sufficient for him; truly Allah will attain His purpose: Allah has set for everything a period" 65.3. And again, in 3.153f. we read, "As for what thou hast resolved, rely upon Allah.....truly if Allah help you, there is none can overcome you...." And this confidence in God on the part of man has relevance not only for this earthly life. It affects the life beyond, and carries with it a guarantee of security after death. "What is with Allah is better and more lasting for those who believe, and who upon their Lord rely."

Such a doctrine therefore not only lifts a man above the changes and chances of this earthly life by giving him a support to lean upon when all human aid fails. It makes him realise that finally he does not belong to this world. This earth is not his home, he is a creature of eternity. Only the realisation of this truth solves the problems and dilemmas of his present existence. This demand, then, from God to man, to lean upon and confide in Him, at once reveals the creatureliness and the other-worldliness of man and helps to solve the deep dilemma of which every man is conscious who has awakened to his true nature and destiny.

It will be readily seen how the verb has come to signify to be pious when it is a question of guarding oneself against God. The emotion that leads a person to adopt such an attitude towards God is fear, an emotion that came to be identified with piety and reverence, and the person concerned would be thought of as being



## CHAPTER SIX

pious. Hence in the often signifies what we mean by the word pious, though it sometimes preserves its original meaning of dread, of fear that leads a person to protect himself against another.

## GOD'S DEMANDS UPON MAN

Cf. e.g. 39. He feared is the torment of the punishment on the day of resurrection. The idea expressed is that the person, fearing that torment, seeks to protect himself (*yattas*), but finds that he has nought but his own "face" to shelter him. Dr Bell renders it, "He then who protects himself by (surrendering) himself from the evil of the punishment."

This next demand that God makes upon man, that of fear or piety towards Himself, is complicated by the Qur'ān's use of more than one term to express it. By far the most common is the root waqā and its derivatives. Next in importance comes the root khāf. The third, khashiyā, is not used very frequently to express this sense of fear of God.

Originally the root waqā did not signify 'fear of God'. It meant rather the act of preserving or protecting from someone or something that was to be feared; and as Lane points out the imperative means to be cautious. The 8th form, 'ittaqā, signifies to guard oneself with extreme caution from someone or something, to place something between oneself and the person or thing from which one is to protect oneself. It may be something that is harmful or morally evil.

It will be readily seen how the verb has come to signify to be pious when it is a question of guarding oneself against God. The emotion that leads a person to adopt such an attitude towards God is fear, an emotion that came to be identified with piety and reverence, and the person concerned would be thought of as being

pious. Hence in the Qur'ān 'ittagā often signifies what we mean by the word pious, though it sometimes preserves its original meaning of dread, of fear that leads a person to protect himself against another.

Cf. e.g. 39.25 where the object that is feared is the torment of the punishment on the day of resurrection. The idea expressed is that the person, fearing that torment, seeks to protect himself (yattagā), but finds that he has nought but his own "face" to shelter him. Dr Bell renders it, "He then who protects himself by (surrendering) himself from the evil of the punishment....." See also 73.17 where the Qur'ān asks the unbelievers, "How will you protect yourselves (tattagūn) from the day that shall turn children greyheaded?"

It is, of course, the meaning to be pious that is emphasized in the Qur'ān though this piety is closely allied with the fear or dread of God which inspires the piety. The sense in which 'ittagā is used in 39.25 and 73.17 is repeated in 3.27. There the believers are urged not to make friends among unbelievers unless "ye fear some danger from them" (tattaqū minhum taqāh), unless ye fear a fear from them.

It seems that originally the second root, khāf, did not mean fear in the sense of reverence. Throughout it expresses the fundamental and 'simple' emotion of fear or terror. This is brought out in the Qur'ān by its using the term in conjunction with eschatological ideas. It usually has special relevance to eschatology and refers particularly to what is to be feared by the unbelievers after death.

The third term, khashiyā, also means fear or dread, but the fear emotion in this instance is the dread that is coloured by

awe, veneration or respect for a person. It is interesting to notice one verse in which all three terms occur, 4.10. Dr Bell has endeavoured to express the precise meaning of each of the three terms in his translation. "Let those who if they (themselves) were to leave behind them a weak posterity would be afraid (khāfū) on their account, beware (yakhshā); and let them act piously (yattaqū) towards Allah."

In 24.51 khāshiyā and 'ittaqā are brought together: "Whoever obeys Allah and His Apostle, and dreads (yakhshā) Allah and shows piety (yattaqī)....." These two roots are brought together again in 33.37. The main subject of the verse is Muḥammed's marriage with Zaynab. The Qur'ān says to Zayd, "Keep thy wife to thyself and show piety ('attaqī) towards Allah." It then goes on to say to Muḥammed, "And thou dost fear (takhshā) men, though Allah is more deserving that thou shouldst fear Him (takhshāhu)." In 31.32 people are commanded to show piety (wa'ttaqū) towards the Lord and dread (wa'khshāu) the day. In 3.125f. the Qur'ān uses 'ittaqā to express the command, "act piously towards Allah" and "protect yourselves against the fire."

It will be seen from these examples that the Qur'ān is not always careful to discriminate between these three terms. Both 'ittaqā and khāshiyā mean to protect oneself or to fear God and/or inanimate objects such as the Fire and the day of resurrection, while khāshiyā may also signify the fear that one experiences towards men. The Qur'anic use of khāf will be considered more fully in the next section, meantime we shall give attention to the demand to act piously towards God which is expressed in the term 'ittaqā.

In endeavouring to define what the Qur'ān means by taqwa it is



useful to point out that in two verses it is coupled with the word birr (righteousness), which suggests that in the Qur'ān it may signify a quality of character as distinct from the conduct which is usually manifested by a pious person, though of course it is assumed that the latter will inevitably manifest 'pious' behaviour. What we are concerned to point out is that the Qur'ān seems to emphasize the pious character rather than the pious act in its use of 'ittaqā. Birr often refers to a state of innocence, the quality of good faith and piety, the state of being righteous, as distinct from works of righteousness, and so on. *able to God there must lie behind it a pious character.*

This aspect of tagwā is well expressed in 2.199 which points out that it is not the act that matters but the disposition of the person who commits the act. Again, in 5.94 where the eating of food is the main subject the Qur'ān says that no blame attaches to a venial offence concerning food if the person shows piety and works works of righteousness; and who fears not once merely but who develops a disposition that is characterised by a habitual fear of God. Notice that in this verse the verb 'ittaqā is used no less than three times. *that God sends down to*

Cf. also 2.172 where the Qur'ān defines birr in terms of faith and patience in affliction as well as generosity, and sums up the statement by saying, "These are those who show piety"; as if to indicate that religious activity and virtuous conduct spring from a pious disposition. The same point is brought out in 12.90 where "whoso shows piety and is patient" is also described as "those who do good."

Still pursuing this aspect of tagwā as disposition, it is something that springs from the qalb. In 22.33 the presenting to

God of the best of offerings springs from "the piety of the heart"; while in 49.3 it is "those whose hearts God has tested for taqwā" who show the greatest deference to the Prophet. In this connection 91.8 ought to be noticed because there taqwā is located in the nafs, which serves to underline the point that the two previous references bring out, viz., that taqwā is the root from which the flower springs rather than the flower itself. The Qur'ān also urges that those who go on Pilgrimage ought to include in their preparations "the best provision", namely taqwā. I.e. if the Pilgrimage is to be effective as a meritorious act acceptable to God there must lie behind it a pious character. Perhaps this meaning of taqwā ought to be connected with the moral ideal of the desert Arabs which may be called murūwah or manliness which R.A.Nicholson has described in the following terms, "bravery in battle, patience in misfortune, persistence in revenge, protection of the weak, defiance of the strong." Certainly the concept of a moral ideal was well established among the Arabs.

7.25 speaks of "the garment of taqwā". In this verse there is drawn an analogy between the clothing that God sends down to the children of Adam to conceal their "shameful parts" and "the garment of piety", which inevitably reminds one of the New Testament idea of "putting on the new man." Probably the phrase "the garment of piety" should be interpreted in terms of improvement in a person's moral qualities but there is also unmistakably the thought of covering one's nakedness by putting on "the garment of taqwā" (libās 'at-taqwā). The Qur'ān also

This idea also becomes articulate in the New Testament. Paul operates with this concept in Rom.13.14, Gal.3.27, Eph.4.22ff.,

Col.3.9f., where he urges Christians to "put off" the garments of the old life and "put on the Lord Jesus Christ." In the latter phrase the verb in Greek is enduo which is common in the sense of putting on garments. In Rom.13.11ff. Paul in a striking metaphor urges the Christians to wake up out of sleep and "put off the works of darkness" as we do our night attire, and then to "put on" the Lord Jesus Christ the new garment. In Gal.3.27 he implies that after the rite of baptism the believer "puts on" this same garment. In Eph.4.22ff. he pleads with his converts to "put off the old man" and then to "put on the new man." In Col.3.10 he repeats the metaphor of Eph.4.22ff., but adds the thought of constant renewal of this new man.

In a striking verse in the Apocalypse of St. John the divine these ideas are expressed again very vividly. The Christians in Laodicea are counselled to "buy....white garments....that the shame of thy nakedness be not manifest" 3.18. And one is reminded of Jesus' parable of the guest who appeared at the marriage feast of the king's son without a wedding garment Matt.22.1-14. And then again in the Genesis account of the Fall we are told in 3.7 that Adam and Eve themselves sewed fig leaves together, cf. surah 20.119. But in Gen.3.21 we are told that "the Lord made for Adam and his wife coats of skin, and clothed them." Cf. also surah 7.21,25.

Notice again in 9.109 that the Qur'ān speaks of a mosque "founded on piety", as if to imply that the mosque would be established on the pious hopes, the religious aspirations and intentions of the persons who constructed it. The Qur'ān also speaks of taqwā reaching (yanāl) to Allah 22.38. Even if in this instance taqwā is to be explained in terms of pious deeds



it is assumed that these would be the fruit of a pious character before they could be so efficacious with Allah.

The Qur'ān also uses the term in connection with a revelation given at Hudaybiyah. This is in 48.26 where the phrase "the word (kalimah) of piety" occurs. In 5.3 the believers are commanded to provoke one another to birr and taqwā, not to "sin and enmity", while in 58.10 the Qur'ān urges them to let their private talk be "with justice (birr) and fear of God (taqwā)", not with wickedness, hate, disobedience, etc. towards Muḥammed.

In two verses the Qur'ān, by its use of taqwā, suggests the notion of an ideal or representative type of Character which may become a criterion almost by which a man's life and character may be judged. The two verses are 2.238, 5.11. In the first the remitting of half of the marriage dowry in the event of a divorce before cohabitation has taken place is being discussed, and the remission is said to be "nearer to piety".

In the second verse the believers are urged to act towards people not out of ill will but out of equity. This acting fairly is also said to be "nearer to piety"; as if to say that such conduct conforms more to a recognised pattern of religious character than would less generous conduct. In this connection however it is of interest to notice that in spite of the Qur'ān's pre-occupation with taqwā it cites only two personalities that are described as muttaqūn, John the Baptist 19.14, whose piety is linked with righteousness towards his parents; and Gabriel 19.18. The second instance is however not significant because the Qur'ān attributes the statement to Mary who, when confronted by Gabriel, thought that he was an ordinary mortal 19.17, and said that she would take refuge with the Merciful if he (Gabriel) were pious.

The inspiration that leads a man to seek a disposition whose chief characteristic is taqwā is rather complex. It may come to a man through the signs that God manifests to him 2.183.

Noah's message to his generation 7.61, the Tōrah in the age of Moses 2.60, 6.156, 7.170, and the Qur'ān in Muḥammed's day 20.112, 39.29, were given that those concerned "may show piety". The inspiration to fear God and become pious might also come by a direct command from Him 4.130, 2.19, 6.154.

It might come when the heart overflows with praise to God and seeks to manifest its gratitude by pursuing the moral ideal expressed by taqwā 20.132, though, as in the case of the other claims that God lays upon man, the demand for taqwā may be thwarted. The Qur'ān cites a specific case of refusal to show piety towards God and traces the cause of this disobedience to pride 2.202. The Qur'ān uses a very strong phrase here, 'akhadhyathu 'l'izzah bi'l'iṭhm (pride seizes him with **Sin**, or guilt). Dr Bell's rendering is, "They are proud of the guilt."

The motives that lie behind the pursuit of piety are varied. A man might seek to put on the garment of piety for no higher reason than that God may punish him if he refuses to put it on 2.192, 5.3, 39.18, 59.7. I.e., a man might fear God from purely selfish motives; not because he loves God but because, literally, he fears God, though as he persists in his fear of God the motive might be raised to a higher plane. Akin to this rather selfish motive is that which springs from the realisation that God knows all 2.231, 5.6, 10f., and sees all 2.233.

For the man who knows himself and the secret springs from which his whole life takes its rise the realisation that Allah has an intimate knowledge of his acts, and words and thoughts would be

sufficient motive for effecting a change leading to amendment of life. But the Qur'ān suggests higher motives in the pursuit of taqwā in daily life.

It may spring from the realisation that beside Allah there is no god 16.2, and must therefore be "worthy of piety" ('āhl 'at-taqwā) 74.55. A man might decide to fear God because he sees that it is inescapably involved in the unity of God 23.54. But the highest motive of all is that God is merciful. If Allah is gracious then man, once having seen Him coming to mediate His forgiveness, must see that the formation of a holy disposition that expresses itself in piety is his inescapable duty 8.70, 2.38, 5.14, 49.12.

And that the pious character will manifest itself in deeds of piety the Qur'ān makes quite clear. The fear of God in a man's heart will, e.g., effect an improvement in the use of his tongue 33.32, 70. It will make the practice of usury impossible 3.125. Certain practices will become abhorrent 11.80, 15.68f. It will render incongruous both the fear of man 33.37, and obedience to the dictates of unbelievers 33.1. Taqwā in the heart will make a man speak the truth 9.120, and compel him to look to what he "sends on for the morrow" 59.18 because it will engender in him fear of the Judgment Day 2.22, 45, 31.32, 36.45. And here, of course, we are reminded of the original meaning of waqā, to guard or protect oneself against possible dangers, in these instances against the Fire, the Judgment, etc.

Taqwā also quickens within man the faculty of spiritual insight 5.100, enabling him to recognise God's signs 10.6, 24.34, settle disputes wisely 8.1, and make him sensitive to the warnings 69.48, and the guidance 2.1, mediated through the Qur'ān



as well as those warnings that come through God's dealings with mankind in the past 2.62, 3.131f. Tagwā will also engender gratitude in a man's heart 3.119, make him sensitive to the presence of satan, quick to see the folly and wickedness of all solicitations to evil 7.200, and will provide a certain measure of protection against the trickery of his enemies 3.116.

It has already been noticed that 'ittagā is used in the Qur'ān to express fear towards things and persons other than God. It is an emotion that may be roused through one of the revelations in the Qur'ān 20.112, or through a sudden danger 8.25. Tagwā could be shown to idols 16.54, but naturally it is used in the Qur'ān predominantly to express the pious and reverent fear that a believer shows towards Allah. It is this that leads to fellowship between Allah and the God-fearer (muttaqī), a fellowship that is described by the Qur'ān in beautiful and moving terms.

E.g., it emphasizes that Allah knows all those who stand in this close relationship with Him 9.44. Resting in the assurance that Allah knows them they need not be apprehensive about losing the reward that their good life merits 3.111. Nor need men try to pass themselves off as being pure (tuzakkū) when they are not 53.33. Allah knows those who fear Him and are pious, and He is with them in a special way. He is with them when men attack ('atadā) them 2.190, or when they fight (yuqātilūn) the idolaters 9.36,124. He is with them when they grieve over the unbelievers and so become discouraged 16.128.

And Allah is with the muttaqūn to help them in danger. E.g., He assisted ('amadd) the faithful at the battle of Badr 3.121. In recounting the story of Cain and Abel the Qur'ān remarks, "Allah

only accepts (yataqabbal) from the muttaqūn." It is in this sense that one should perhaps understand the remark in 5.39: There the believers are to fear God and "crave the means to approach Him." The phrase is, 'ābtaghū 'ilayhi 'alwasīlah. I.e., seek access to Him or desire union with Him.

In this connection the relevancy between prayer and the pious disposition (see e.g. 6.71 where the command, "be steadfast in prayer" is linked with the following words, "and show piety to Him) becomes plain. The emphasis in the Qur'ān upon the communion between Allah and the muttaqūn prepares us for the assurance that He loves them to a quite peculiar degree. It is striking that in three verses, 3.70, 9.4,7, the statement that God loves the muttaqūn occurs in a context that underlines another element in the situation, that of honouring or fulfilling a covenant ('ahd). In each case the verb used to express the love of God towards those who fear Him is ḥabb.

As with the other demands made by God upon man that have been studied this one now under review is never considered by the Qur'ān in isolation. It is always related to the other claims made by Allah. And because the aspect of taqwā emphasized in the Qur'ān is that of piety of character and disposition rather than of piety manifested in good works we are not surprised to find that it is often connected with those religious acts that are considered to be the badge of Islām.

It is true that taqwā is often related to īmān 2.97, 5.70, 10.64, etc., and notice 30.30 where it is related to tawbah and ṣalawah. On the other hand it is also linked with alms-giving 92.5, 64.16, honouring agreements or covenants 3.70, 9.4,7, cf. too 8.58, acting aright ('aḥsan) 3.166, ('aṣlah) 4.127, paying the Zakāt 7.155,

and obeying the Apostles, Noah 26.106, Hūd 26.125, Ṣalīh 26.142, Lot 26.161, Shu'ayb 26.177, Jesus 3.44, 43.63. These acts are thought of as the results of taqwā, the fruit borne by the tree of a pious, God-fearing disposition.

Naturally such a pious character and the works that it produces will have their reward after death, but the Qur'ān refers to some rewards that the muttaqūn receive in this life. E.g., for the pious man God makes His command easy 65.4, prepares for him a way out of his difficulties and provides for him from sources upon which he does not reckon 65.2.

To him who shows piety towards God is given the assurance of absolution from sin 65.5, and the forgiveness of sin 8.29. The latter reference also promises "a discrimination" (furqān). This word comes from a Syriac root which means, (a) to go apart or break away; and (b) to save or deliver. Probably the furqān promised to the muttaqūn in 8.29 is to be interpreted in this second sense and should be rendered by some such word as salvation meaning deliverance and victory. Cf. 8.42 where the furqān is regarded as having come at Badr.

It will be realised that this claim by God upon man expressed by taqwā goes deeper than those we have already considered. It goes deeper because it reaches to and affects the character. It has to do not primarily with what a man does but with what a man is. It affects those moral qualities that constitute personality and that distinguish a person from his fellows.

This demand underlines the high and serious view of man that the Qur'ān holds. In a way taqwā reveals what the Qur'ān conceives man is meant to be. It expresses the Qur'ān's conception of the ideal man, the pattern towards which every man should



approximate, and to which he may attain.

This reminds us again of the high opinion the Qur'ān holds of human nature in general, if not in the sense of what man is actually at least from the point of view of what man is potentially. On the negative side this implies the deep sense of tragedy that permeates the Qur'anic doctrine of man and its acute awareness of the moral dilemma in which man finds himself. Man is living in perpetual refusal to follow the shining ideal, failure to realise the wonderful moral and spiritual possibilities that Allah sees in His creatures, possibilities that are realisable in the higher reaches of the personality of man viewed as a child (albeit an erring child) of God.

content at all in the Qur'ān, and this is in keeping with the etymology of the word to which reference has already been made.

This is also in accord with the strong eschatological significance that the Qur'ān imparts to khawf. The fear expressed by this term does not usually issue in moral endeavour or amendment of life to any marked degree. It is a fear emotion that is very real in human experience, and it constitutes a demand laid upon man by God, but it remains a physical fear, so to speak; whereas taqwa is predominantly a fear that operates at the moral and spiritual levels of the personality and issues in, or rather is indicative of, a new relationship between God and man.

This is well illustrated in 20.69ff. which reports the reaction that Moses experienced when the magicians of Egypt made their ropes and staves appear as if they were moving along the ground; or in 27.10, 28.31 where Moses' own staff is described as quivering, as though it were a snake. In each of these references the verb in the divine command addressed

to Moses, "Fear not" is khawf not ittiqā.

This is also the case in 20.48. When Moses and Aaron are commanded to go to Egypt to speak to Pharaoh they experience khawf towards the monarch because of what he has done to them, lā takhāf (fear not). This is so in the experience of the mother of Moses too who began to be possessed with the fear that her child would be discovered by Pharaoh 28.5. Khawf is also the word used by the angels who were sent to Abraham 11.73, 51.28, and Lot 11.30, 41.30. Naturally they would be afraid when confronted

We have already noticed that this term khawf, it represents the last of the claims of God upon man that we shall consider, has, in complete contradistinction to tagwā, little if any moral content at all in the Qur'ān, and this is in keeping with the etymology of the word to which reference has already been made.

This is also in accord with the strong eschatological significance that the Qur'ān imparts to khawf. The fear expressed by this term does not usually issue in moral endeavour or amendment of life to any marked degree. It is a fear emotion that is very real in human experience, and it constitutes a demand laid upon man by God, but it remains a physical fear, so to speak; whereas tagwā is predominantly a fear that operates at the moral and spiritual levels of the personality and issues in, or rather is indicative of, a new relationship between God and man.

This is well illustrated in 20.69ff. which reports the reaction that Moses experienced when the magicians of Egypt made their ropes and staves appear as if they were moving along the ground; or in 27.10, 28.31 where Moses' own staff is described as quivering, as though it were a snake. In each of these references the verb in the divine command addressed

V1 f 2.

to Moses, "fear not" is khawf not 'ittiqā.

This is also the case in 20.48. When Moses and Aaron are commanded to go to Egypt to speak to Pharaoh they experience khawf towards the monarch because Allah says to them, lā takhāfā (dual). This is so in the experience of the mother of Moses too who began to be possessed with the fear that her child would be discovered by Pharaoh 28.6. Khaf is also the word used by the angels who were sent to Abraham 11.73, 51.28, and Lot 29.32, 41.30. Naturally they would be afraid when confronted by the angelic visitors. Indeed the Qur'ān says that he conceived (or experienced) a fear of them ('āwjas minhum khifah) 11.73. Notice too that it is said that satan also frightens his adherents 3.169.

But the Qur'ān makes it clear that this kind of fear may also be engendered within the soul by Allah Himself. In 3.169 the Qur'ān, after saying that shaytān frightens (yukhawwif) his clients, urges believers not to fear (again khaf) them but "fear Me (khāfūnī) if ye be believers."

39.18 tells us that Allah alarms (yukhawwif) His servants by recounting to them the woes of hell, and this is followed by an appeal to them to fear or act piously ('ittiqā) towards Him. In 17.62 the Qur'ān points out that sometimes the fear that God awakens in the soul only increases men in their arrogance, while 17.61 says that God sends His servants with signs to make men fear.

This fear of God may lead to a spiritual awakening and an entering into a new relationship with God. To awaken fear within men is sometimes the reason why God sends trials upon them 2.150. Cf. also 13.13, 30.23 where the lightning awakens fear in the



heart, though in this instance the fear is mixed with the hope that the lightning will prove to be the harbinger of rain.

Now these references, with their assurance that God takes steps to create khawf in the souls of men, remind us that Allah is gracious, gracious in that He refuses to allow men to go blindly on in their wayward course without attempting to lead them to repentance. Cf. 5.95 where the Qur'ān says that God sometimes tries men to find out who it is who really fears Him in secret. But these passages also remind us of something that has been noticed before, namely, that God will not violate the human will. He will not compel a man to follow a certain course of action. He must first win a man's spontaneous consent, and until God gains the unconditioned response and co-operation of man His purposes remain unfulfilled.

It is at this level that khawf ceases to be a physical fear. Khawf is capable of operating in the higher reaches of the personality and may finally become an element in worship and prayer. See e.g. 7.54 where the Qur'ān urges men to call upon the Lord in "fear" and "earnestness" or longing desire. Cf. also 32.16.

Another religious exercise of which khawf may be a part is that of "remembering" the Lord. See 7.204 where the Prophet is called upon to practise this part of his private devotions with fear as well as humility. In 28.20 we read of Moses leaving Egypt "afraid and watchful" on hearing that Pharaoh's chiefs were plotting his death. But in this instance khawf only drove him to prayer. In the case of other believers God may remove the fear and "give them in exchange security" ('amn) 24.54.

We have noticed that 'ittiqā is used almost universally to express fear of God, but khawf is used only rarely in this sense.

The Qur'ān quotes Abel as saying, "I fear Allah, the Lord of the worlds", in reply to his brother's threat to kill him. It also describes satan "taking to his heels" (nakas 'alā 'aqibayhi) when he saw the angels coming to succour the Muslims in battle. At the same time he exclaimed, "I fear Allah." 8.50, cf. also 59.16 where satan repeats the words in another context.

It is also recorded both of the angels in heaven and of the beasts on the earth that "they fear their Lord.....and do what they are commanded" 16.52. But in 27.10 the Qur'ān commands Moses to have no khawf in God's presence. Another aspect of this fear of God is expressed in 2.229. There the subject is divorce, and the fear in question is that the parties concerned "will not be able to maintain the limits set by Allah", i.e., will be unable to observe the ordinances of Allah regarding divorce.

But the main emphasis in the Qur'ān concerning khawf in the experience of man lies upon the fate that will overtake the wicked after death. And clearly the Qur'ān has practical purposes in view when it expresses in such unambiguous terms the natural fears of the heart concerning the eschatological significance of unbelief and rebellion against God. In this way it keeps alive in the heart the conviction that earth is not man's permanent home, that he is a child of eternity, and that his life, viewed in relation to the will of God, is significant, whether or not that life has been surrendered to Allah.

Even the heart of Muhammed experienced this not unhealthy fear of hell. He says, "I fear, if I go against my Lord, the torment of the mighty Day" 6.15, 10.16. This fear acted as a

deterrent when the Prophet was tempted to come to terms with idolaters 6.14, and to tamper with the revelations out of "deference to the predilections of those who either rejected them out of hand or wished for something that might be a little more accommodating 10.16.

It was this same fear of punishment that awoke within the heart of Noah a deep concern for his own generation 7.57. And this khawf in the heart regarding the torment of the Last Day has a further practical value- it enables a man to read the signs of God 11.105.

In this connection 51.35-37 is instructive. It speaks of the doom of Sodom being "a sign for those who fear the grievous punishment." Now we noticed in an earlier chapter, 111 a 8ff., that only believers are able to read the signs so that those referred to in 11.105 will be believers; and it is especially the fear of a coming judgment operating within them that helps towards a clearer understanding of the meaning of God's signs.

Notice too that it was the fear that his father might be touched by the torment from the Merciful that created in Abraham's heart a deep sympathy for his father, and that constrained him to plead with the latter to forsake his idolatrous ways and to follow the guidance to "a level path" 19.46. This same experience came to "a believing man of Pharaoh's people" 40.29. Realising the dreadful danger in which his unbelieving fellow countrymen stood he pled with them and warned them of "the day of crying out" 40.34.

The other practical aspect of this khawf which Allah creates in the human heart concerning the perils in which unbelievers stand is expressed in 76.7-10. There the Qur'an speaks of



those who, having been roused to the imminent danger in which they stand, and seized with dread of "a day grim and calamitous", reform their lives and are now those "who fulfil their vows", show kindness to the destitute, and feed the necessitous.

And when they receive the gratitude of those they befriend they assure them that the real motive that prompted them to succour the indigent was fear of "a grim and calamitous Day." Which suggests that the fear of the coming Judgment Day may lead a man to amend his ways and become solicitous concerning the needs of his fellows. This means, of course, that this kindness is not altogether disinterested. Behind the kindness and the practical concern for others practised by Muslims there may be ulterior motives; e.g., the determination to ensure one's acceptance with God on the calamitous Day.

What impresses one in these references to khawf in relation to the coming judgment is that in every instance the subjects of this fear are ~~not~~ believers. And not always 'ordinary' believers either. Among them are some of the most famous of the apostles; e.g., Noah, Abraham and Muhammed. In the latter instance the main preoccupation is the possibility of the torment of the mighty Day overtaking him. In the two other instances the chief concern is the peril in which others stand. So also with the "believing man" from among Pharaoh's people. The motives that impelled the people mentioned in 76.7-10 to act as they did are identical with those that operated in Muhammed's case.

So that in some instances it is a fear that may awaken the instinct of self-preservation, and in others a lively concern for other people. The first issues in amendment of life and a greater degree of faithfulness in one's relations with God. The

second produces a desire to appeal to and plead with those who stand in deadly peril to "flee from the wrath to come." But in both instances khawf colours and affects the individual's fellowship with God and is, therefore, of immense value and importance as a factor in religious faith and practice.

The Qur'ān also speaks of those who fear God's place (maqām), and His "threat" 14.17. Cf. also 50.45. The maqām probably refers to the place where Allah will deliver judgment (judgment-seat), and the "threat" is the sentence that will be pronounced. But again the fear is experienced by those who believe.

In 14.17 a reward is promised those who fear God's "place" and "threat" in contradistinction to whom "the wrong-doers will be destroyed" 14.16. The word maqām is used in a similar sense in 55.46, 79.40, and in both instances those who "fear" the "station" of the Lord are believers because the two references speak of the reward of paradise that is promised to those who fear. In 79.40 the fear is coupled with the act of restraining the soul from lust.

The Qur'ān also speaks of "those who fear that they shall be gathered unto their Lord" 6.51. A slight ambiguity here makes it impossible to say with complete certainty whom the Qur'ān has in view but there is a strong probability that they are believers since they are told that "patron or intercessor they shall have none but Him (Allah)."

In 13.21 the object of khawf is the evil reckoning up, but those who experience such a fear are described as those who fulfil the covenant of God v.20, and are steadfast in prayer, etc., v.22. The assumption is therefore that they are believers. And that the Qur'ān wishes it to be understood that this fear of hell can

be experienced by believers alone is expressed negatively in 74.53 where it describes those who are doomed as those "who do not fear the Hereafter." The preceding verse explains that they are "those who, when confronted by the Memorial (the Qur'ān?), turned aside from it" 74.50. The Memorial may also be simply the Message. Clearly this attitude can be predicated only of unbelievers. In any case it was a perfectly natural reaction as far as they were concerned. They refused to fear precisely because they disbelieved in it as a reality.

We must not however assume from these references that the believers feared "the grim and calamitous Day" because they were not sure of the outcome of the judgment of God as far as they personally were concerned. The khawf was not engendered by lack of assurance of ultimate salvation; it probably had reference to the days preceding their admission to the community of believers.

It was that fear that roused them to act, to believe the message Muhammed preached, and to surrender themselves to Allah (i.e. become Muslims). But this khawf continued to operate in their minds after they became mu'minūn. It became the motive power of their good works, of their concern for those outside the fellowship, and of their maintaining themselves in their new relationship with Allah.

That this fear of hell in the believer is not to be understood to mean that he conceived himself to stand in actual danger of hell-fire is clear from the oft repeated assurance that the true believer is completely delivered from khawf. E.g. 2.36 says that "whosoever follows My (God's) guidance fear (khawf) will not rest upon him nor will he grieve." The same assurance is given



to those who belong to the Jewish, Christian and Sabaeen communities, and to those who believe and act aright 2.59, to those who surrender themselves 2.106, to the generous 2.264, 275, and to those who serve the Lord 106.3f., 43.68. Cf., also 2Q111, 72.13, 2.277.

The main point that the Qur'ān seems concerned to make in its use of khawf is that it is predicated everywhere of believers. And here the Qur'ān reveals a remarkable inward consistency in its doctrine of man. It teaches that the unbeliever is blind and deaf, his heart is sealed up; as a consequence he cannot apprehend, let alone interpret, the signs of God. It is impossible therefore that he should ever be possessed of fear concerning the consequences of unbelief and wickedness.

The unbeliever is impervious to such thoughts hence the Qur'ān knows nothing of any awakening in the conscience of the unbeliever that might lead him to repent and turn to God. It is otherwise with the believer. He is alive to the moral values and the eschatological significance of life, to the reality of the moral government of the world, to the moral demands that God makes upon him and to the penalties incurred by disobeying these claims. We shall see in the following chapter what compliance with God's demands involves.

I.e., man has a double nature. On the one hand his body makes him dependent upon the material world, and involves his submission to the circumstances prevailing in nature. On the other hand man has a spiritual side to his nature. The life thus manifested comes from God, and it is through this life that he possesses intelligence and moral sense.

Third, because man possesses a moral nature temptation becomes

possible that he, as a moral being, might be put to the test. This is illustrated in the CHAPTER SEVEN Adam as described in the Qur'ān. Allah laid a prohibition upon him, the command was disobeyed, and the moral law was contravened. Thus a sense of right and wrong operates in the mind of man and produces a sense of guilt in the conscience.

Fourth, MAN'S RESPONSE TO GOD'S DEMANDS: from the Qur'anic account of the Fall is that man could have remained innocent, but he also had the AD-DĪN ability to sin. He was free to choose God's will or his own and he chose the latter.

Now that is the kind of creature that the Qur'ān calls upon to respond to the claims that Allah makes upon him. His nature

Before we consider the actual response that man may make to God's demands it would be well to remind ourselves of one or two important points in the Qur'anic doctrine of man which have special relevance to the subject of this chapter.

First of all the Qur'ān, by insisting that Allah created man out of the turab, the creatureliness of man. There is a material side to his nature, and through this materialness man is connected with the earth.

Second, by virtue of Allah's having breathed His rūh into man there is a higher side to man's nature. I.e., man has a double nature. On the one hand his body makes him dependent upon the material world, and involves his submission to the circumstances prevailing in nature. On the other hand man has a spiritual side to his nature. The life thus manifested comes from God, and it is through this life that he possesses intelligence and moral sense.

Third, because man possesses a moral nature temptation becomes

possible that he, as a moral being, might be put to the test. This is illustrated in the experience of Adam as described in the Qur'ān. Allah laid a prohibition upon him, the command was disobeyed, and the moral law was contravened. Thus a sense of right and wrong operates in the mind of man and produces a sense of guilt in the conscience.

Fourth, man possesses free-will. The inference from the Qur'anic account of the Fall is that man could have remained innocent, but he also had the capacity to sin. He was free to choose God's will or his own and he chose the latter.

Now that is the kind of creature that the Qur'ān calls upon to respond to the claims that Allah makes upon him. His nature is such that he may enter into fellowship with God and he is free to make the response. It is the moral dilemma that man finds himself in that creates the necessity for that response, though this dilemma is, at the same time, the reason why the response is not made.

There is one other factor in the Qur'anic teaching on man that has to be noticed in this introduction to our immediate subject- the growth of individualism. The value and significance of the individual was coming to clearer self-consciousness. This tendency was fostered principally by the commercial life in Mecca; but when this new individualism is considered in relation to religion and to a man's standing before God it will be realised that it has distinct relevance to the subject discussed in this chapter.

The common term in the Qur'ān for religion is the word dīn. The primary sense of the root dān is to be obedient, submissive, or even abased and enslaved. In relation to God it implies



that a man becomes His servant by following Islām; in relation to men dān signifies that a man brings himself into subjection by incurring debt, or by taking something on credit. As far as we are concerned the first significance is of primary importance and we shall have to consider the Qur'anic use of the word dīn in the sense of abasement or obedience to God and, by extension, in the sense of what we mean by religion.

Dīn in the sense of religion may be used of any religious faith, but it is used peculiarly of Islām in the Qur'ān. E.g., in 3.17 we read, "The religion in Allah's sight is Islām." And as far as the Muslim was concerned his dīn consisted of three main elements which have been summed up by Massé in the following terms, "La foi (īmān) doit se joindre à l'ihsān (vertu) et à l'islām (abandon à Allah, sentiment de la dépendance) pour constituer la religion (dīn) au sens large du mot." It is these three elements that make up the dīn of the Muslims.

One of the main contentions of the Qur'ān in this realm of ideas is that there has been only one true dīn. This religion had been revealed to the Qur'ān which it was now communicating to all who would believe the message. The mission of the Qur'ān in this regard was, (a) to demonstrate that the Jews and the Christians had corrupted the one true faith, and (b) to recall both them and the heathen Arabs to the pristine purity of the universal religion that had been given first to Abraham.

That, we must remind ourselves once again, is the reason why the Qur'ān insisted that Abraham was neither Jew nor Christian. He was a Hanīf, a Muslim. Now Islām was identical with the dīn of Abraham, therefore when a man surrendered himself to Allah he became a Muslim, an adherent of the one true universal faith.

"They say: 'Be ye Jews or Christians, and ye will be guided.'  
Say (thou): 'Nay, the creed of Abraham, who was a Hanīf, and was not one of the idolaters'" 2.129. Again, "Abraham was not a Jew or a Christian, but he was a Hanīf, a Muslim, and he was not one of the idolaters" 3.60.

In writing of this momentous matter, and of Muḥammed's ingenuity in making Abraham the founder of the Ka'bah and the creator of the hajj, Masse' rightly calls it, "une idée capitale, une des génératrices de l'Islām, car elle établit vraiment l'autonomie de la religion nouvelle à l'égard du paganisme et du Judaïsme."

It is this conviction that Islām was identical with the faith revealed by Allah to Abraham that probably explains certain Qur'anic phrases where the word dīn occurs. E.g., the religion of Abraham is called "the religion of Allah" 24.2. It is of this religion that the Qur'ān speaks when reporting Abraham as saying, "Allah has chosen the religion for you" (Isaac, Ishmael and Jacob), and goes on to urge them not to die without "becoming Muslims" 2.126.

This same dīn had been revealed to Noah, Moses and Jesus too, and was now being disclosed to Muḥammed 42.11. The Qur'ān, therefore, can say, "The religion in God's sight is Islām" 3.17, and can urge Muḥammed to set his face "toward the religion as a Hanīf—the natural religion laid down by Allah which He hath formed the people by nature to follow.....That is the right religion" 30.29. It was logical therefore that the Qur'ān should urge the faithful to "fight.....until there is no dissension, and the religion becomes Allah's" 2.189. The Prophet's vision in which he had seen "people entering in crowds into" the religion of Allah 110.2 must

be fulfilled.

When the Qur'an refers to dīn al-haqq it means Islām. Allah had sent His messenger "with the religion of truth in order that he may set it above all other religions" 61.9, 48.28; so the faithful must "fight against those who do not practise the religion of truth" 9.29. The Qur'ān also calls it ad-dīn al-qayyūm 9.36. Towards it Allah had been guiding Muhammed 6.162.

Reduced to its simplest terms it means to serve none but Allah 12.40, and towards it men are urged to direct their faces before the Judgment Day 30.42. The faith to which the Qur'ān was calling men was so unique that it could be referred to simply as "the religion" 10.105, 30.29. And since the religion that Muhammed was declaring was identical with that which had been revealed to Abraham and the rest of the prophets it could be called ad-dīn al-khālīs (the pure or exclusive religion) 39.3. The day came when this religion had been perfected for Muhammed and Allah approved Islām as his religion 5.5. Anyone therefore who desired "some other religion than that of Allah" declared himself a "reprobate" (fāsiq) 3.76f. There was no alternative to Islām as far as the apostate was concerned 5.59.

This, of course, had not always been the conviction of the Qur'ān. In 2 or 3 A.H. it taught that there was to be no compulsion in religion 2.257; and even if dīn here be understood to mean obedience that would not affect fundamentally the sense of the words. Circa 8 A.H. the faithful are told "to act virtuously" toward those who refused to submit themselves to Allah as long as they had not fought against the former on religious grounds. And where they had fought against the faithful these were simply forbidden "to make friends" with them 60.8f.



Doubtless however the mild terms of 60.8f. were due to Muhammed's conviction that the way to the conquest of Mecca (8 A.H.) was being prepared and to the firm belief that the expedition would issue in a peaceful settlement. After all, two years earlier, the faithful had been commanded to fight the unbelievers who violated their oaths 9.12ff. The believers, on the other hand, were "brothers in religion" 9.11, 33.5, and none amongst them was to appeal in vain for help from their co-religionists 8.73.

Another matter of general interest must be noticed before we come to discuss dīn al-islām, a subject that is treated with deep concern in the Qur'ān. We refer to the question of guidance into Islām. It is the conviction of the Qur'ān that the religion of Allah would never have been known had that depended upon man's native ingenuity. Man could neither discover it nor grow into it unconsciously. The concept of the religious evolution of man would have been entirely meaningless to the Qur'ān if by that had been meant the success of man's unaided efforts to rise from a lower to a higher level of religious experience.

There is a sense, of course, in which the Qur'ān does witness to a religious development in Muhammed as we have already had occasion to notice. E.g., the early idea that one messenger was sent to each people was modified when it was discovered that more than one had in fact been sent. It was not until the Medinan period that Muhammed realised that Abraham had lived before Moses and therefore had been "an independent recipient of God's favour" (Bell) 3.58ff.

As a consequence, it was not until Medinan times that Abraham became a prophet and a Ḥanīf, the founder of the religion of the

Hunafā'. In Meccan or early Medinan days the Qur'ān appeals to the testimony of previous monotheists, or claims to confirm what had previously been revealed.

A development in Muhammed's religious views is also noticeable in his attitude towards the Jews. In the Meccan period there is no trace of any close liason between him and the Jews. It is not clear what place the Jews had in the community of Islām during the first period after the Hijrah, but there is evidence that some of them became Muslims. Some again, may have accepted Muhammed as a prophet without becoming members of the Muslim fellowship. But gradually the attitude of the majority of Jews changed from one of indifference or passive rejection to one of active hostility. Now this must have had far-reaching effects upon Muhammed's own religious development.

However, this is far removed from what is meant by the religious evolution of man; and while the Qur'ān provides evidence of a growth in Muhammed's views on religion it does not support the modern view that man has gradually been winning his way to a clearer understanding of God and of the religious experience that comes to him in his fellowship with God.

Its point of view is rather that a man's knowledge of "the religion of truth" depends on whether Allah does or does not reveal it to him; therefore everyone who resigns himself to Allah and follows Islām must have had his understanding enlightened to comprehend the truth of Islām. I.e., he must have been "guided" by Allah into "the right way". And this is the consistent point of view of the Qur'ān concerning both the observance of the sharī'ah and in the strictly doctrinal sense as well.

Hada' is the root that the Qur'ān uses when speaking of Allah's

guiding a man into the right way. Everywhere it is Allah who directs one into Islām, otherwise a man is left to blunder on in error and despair. This remains the divine prerogative. E.g. in surah 92, where the ways of truth and error are being discussed, we read, "Upon Us it rests to give guidance" v.12. "The guidance of Allah is the guidance" 2.114, 3.66. In 7.41 the faithful in paradise say, "Praise belongs to Allah who guided us to this (paradise), for we should not have been guided had not Allah guided us" 7.41.

In section IV pp.5ff., the question of Allah's leading men astray was discussed. Although this requires some qualification it remains true that men disagree concerning the truth "by His permission" 2.209; so that if Allah does not guide a man he perforce strays from the truth 17.99, 6.77. The Qur'an asks, Who will guide those whom Allah sends astray? 30.28, and cf. 45.22. It is therefore useless for Muhammed "to be eager for the guidance of idolaters" since "Allah guides not those who go astray" 16.39. Cf. also 10.44, 4.90, 18.55f.

This matter of Allah's leading some astray and guiding others seems to have occasioned Muhammed some mental perturbation, if not intellectual difficulty. Undoubtedly the Prophet was eager for the conversion of his contemporaries 16.39. Their "turning from" him "was hard" to bear 6.35; so he is told "If God had pleased He would bring them all to guidance" 6.35. Cf. also 6.150, 13.30, 16.9. 32.13 supplies rather a grim reason for this withholding of guidance, "Had We pleased We would have given to everything its guidance; but the sentence was due (haqq) from Me- 'I will surely fill hell with jinn and men together.'"

On the surface it would seem as if the deciding factor in



in guidance is the will of Allah. The Qur'ān repeatedly says, "Allah guides whom He will" 2.209, 274, 22.16, 28.56, etc. In 10.26 divine guidance is brought into close relation with God's "call" to men but it is also linked with divine election, and in these instances the verb used to express electing to salvation is 'ijtabā.

42.12 speaks in general terms of God's "electing" to Islām "those whom He pleaseth", while in 20.120 Adam is the object of divine choice. In 6.84-87 various prophets are said to have been elected by Allah while 16.121f. speaks of Abraham's being chosen. In 19.59 it is the posterity of Adam, Noah, Abraham and Israel. But Allah's choosing men is simply a variation of the common Qur'anic phrase, "Allah guides whom He pleases."

On a superficial view this would seem to cancel out human initiative but this is not so. When speaking of guidance the Qur'ān uses the verb 'ihtadā, to follow a right direction, or to seek to be rightly directed; it may also mean to accept guidance, and this is how Dr Bell renders it. Clearly the nuance of choice, of human initiative, is present; and the Qur'ān's deliberate and frequent use of this verb suggests that it was fully alive to the power of the will in determining whether a man was to be guided or led astray.

In this connection it is apposite to remind ourselves of the concept of al-fitrāh which in Tradition means the natural constitution with which a child is created in his mother's womb. The root fatar occurs in 30.29 and is there said to have this meaning. Dr Bell's rendering of this verse is, "Set thy face towards the religion as a Hanīf- the natural religion laid down by Allah which He hath formed the people by nature to follow....."

30.29 is the only reference to this matter in the Qur'ān but it receives wide support in Tradition as A.J.Wensinck points out in The Muslim Creed 42f., 214f. E.g. Muḥammed is quoted as saying, "Every infant is born in fitrah....," and goes on to state that if the child's parents are Jews, Christians or Magians they make him a Jew or a Christian or a Magian.

However if the child die before he reaches years of discretion he dies in fitrah; i.e., in a state which conforms to the natural constitution with which he was born. Some Muslim theologians however argue that fitrah really means "natural" or "rational" religion, or the faculty of knowing God, the ability to accept the religion of truth. I.e., fitrah means Islām because Islām is to be identified with the one true universal religion. This means of course that every child is born a Muslim.

It is this that explains why the killing of women and children was forbidden in Islām. It also throws light on the notions in Islām regarding the fate of children who die in infancy. Cf. 17.16. This concept of fitrah is relevant to the doctrine of predestination. It might be conceived that the two ideas were at variance in early Islām; if this is so then it suggests, as Wensinck points out, that predestination had not yet been stated in any hard and fast way when the notion of fitrah arose. Certainly it has become increasingly clear to us that the Qur'ān does not hold any very extreme views on predestination. Indeed the emphasis would seem to be upon free-will. This is certainly where the emphasis lies in the Qur'anic doctrine of guidance to Islām.

In several verses the Qur'ān compares those who allow themselves to be guided and those who go astray, and there is nothing to suggest that it did not believe in the efficacy of the will as a

determining factor in guidance, see e.g., 17.16, 10.108, 53.31.

In this regard 34.49 is of interest because it concerns Muhammed himself. Here the Qur'ān bids him say, "If I go astray it is to my own disadvantage; and if I let myself be guided it is by what my Lord reveals to me."

Thamūd was a people who deliberately refused to be guided, "We guided Thamūd but they preferred ('istahabbū) blindness to guidance" 41.16. To those who accept guidance Allah "gives more guidance" 19.78. "Those who have let themselves be guided, it (i.e. the knowledge given to Muhammed) has increased in guidance" 47.19.

So that the Qur'ān could say to Muhammed, "Thou canst not guide whom thou dost like" 28.56; and even of Allah the same verse says, "Allah guides whom He pleases; for He knows best who are to be guided", suggesting that there is a connection between Allah's foreknowledge of those who are to be guided and those whom He wills to guide. But it is possible for a man not to allow himself to be guided. He may refuse to accept Allah's guidance or he may "go back after the guidance has become clear" 47.27f.

Those who are guided are said to be endowed with minds, they are able to recognise divine guidance. "Those whom Allah has guided are those who have intelligence" 39.19, "He gives them a right mind" 47.6. By contrast unbelievers "know nothing and are not guided" 5.103. "God guides the heart of him who believes in Him" 64.11, and he to whom knowledge is given holds to be truth that which is sent down from the Lord and it becomes a guide to him, 34.6. Clearly guidance depends upon the disposition of a man's will and the enlightenment of his mind as well as the intention of Allah; therefore men should pray, "Guide us in the



right path, the path of those Thou art gracious to..." 1.5f.

Even outstanding religious personalities had no special qualifications that fitted them for their high destiny. Adam fell into sin and it was only after Allah "relented towards him" that He guided him. Abraham was an idolater before his illumination. Even Muhammed is told in 42.52, "We have inspired thee by a spirit.....thou didst not know what the Book was nor the faith: but We made it a light whereby We guided whom We will of our servants. And verily thou shalt surely be guided into the right way- the way of Allah...." And again, in 93.7 the Qur'ān informs him, "He found thee erring and guided thee." And, as Dr Bell remarks, there is no reason why this statement "should be taken in any other way than the literal sense", viz., that Muhammed "had at one time followed a false religion." And if guidance in the experience of these "servants" 6.88, depended upon the grace of God how much more that of the 'ordinary' believers whose guidance was mediated to them through these religious leaders.

The determination to persevere in "the religion of Allah" was also necessary for guidance. The Qur'ān points out that Allah guides "those who listen to the word" 39.19, "who follow His pleasure" 5.18, "Who fight strenuously for Us" 29.69, "who believe in Allah" 64.11, "who turn repentant" 42.12, "who act aright" 10.9, "who take tight hold upon God" 4.174, "who obey the Prophet" 24.53, "surrender themselves" 3.19, and are "pious" 2.1. Obviously divine guidance is not automatic. It lays demands upon the faithful. Allah will guide only those who respond continuously to Him in worship, service and piety, and the believer must ever pray, "O our Lord, do not incline our hearts to go astray, after having guided us, and give us mercy from Thyself" 3.6.

It is this aspect of guidance that illumines the conviction that Allah does not lead a man astray after He has guided him, although the possibility of turning back is always present 3.6.

E.g., 39.38 tells us that "he whom Allah leads astray there is no guidance for him; and he whom Allah guides there is none to lead him astray". Cf. too 9.116. And see also 20.122, "Whoso follows My (God's) guidance shall neither go astray nor become wretched." And he who follows God's guidance will "increase in guidance" 19.78, 47.19.

The Qur'ān seems to consider that the guidance given to the prophets was communicated to them by God directly. In the case of Muhammed there was a medium between him and Allah. And this agrees with the experience of 'ordinary' believers. Allah guides them through the media of men or the Books. It is clear too that the apostles and prophets were conscious of having been commissioned by Allah to communicate their divinely revealed knowledge to their contemporaries.

E.g., Abraham is reported as saying, "Follow me and I will guide thee (his father) to a level way" 19.44. The Qur'ān says concerning Lot, Isaac and Jacob, "We (Allah) made them highpriests to guide (men) by our bidding." Of others it is said, "....Allah hath guided them, and by their guidance be thou led" 6.90. And the Qur'ān urges Muhammed's contemporaries to believe in him "that haply they may be guided" 7.158.

But although "Allah sent His Apostle with guidance and the religion of truth" 9.33, 48.28, yet he had no control over the will of men. The Qur'ān asks Muhammed, "Canst thou make the deaf to hear, or guide the blind or him who is in obvious error?" 43.39, 27.83. True, Allah "had not sent any apostle save with the

language of his people, that he might explain to them" the truth, yet God "leads astray whom He will and guides whom He will" 14.4. The Apostle could "only make to hear those who believe....and are surrendered" 30.52.

What one is to say concerning the generations who lived when knowledge of "the religion of Allah" was disappearing, or had completely disappeared, from the earth the Qur'ān does not make clear. The question is asked, "Then what about the former generations?" But the answer given is, "The knowledge of them is with my Lord in a book; my Lord errs not nor does He forget" 20.53f.

But we must now come to closer grips with the main subject of this chapter, man's response to God's demands in terms of dīn. The Qur'anic use of the root khalas, and the 4th form, 'ikhlās, meaning to be pure or sincere towards Allah in religion, to be singlehearted or singleminded towards Allah in respect of one's religious beliefs and practices throws a little light on the Qur'ān's conception of religion.

This quality of heart and mind, 'ikhlās, is one that Allah may impart to a man as He did to Abraham, Isaac and Jacob of whom 38.46 says, "We made them sincere by a sincere quality" (khālīṣah). Moses 19.52, and Joseph 12.24, are described as being sincere or singlehearted, the former probably in a strictly religious sense, the latter in the moral sense.

15.39f. reports Iblīs as saying, "I will surely seduce them altogether save such of Thy servants as are singlehearted." Which suggests that the khālīsūn were proof against the machinations of the evil one and could not be seduced. Cf. e.g. Joseph's refusal to respond to the advances made to him by his master's wife. It is only the servants of God who are singlehearted and err not



37.67-72. Notice should also be taken of the phrase mukhlisūn lillāh ad-dīn. It occurs some twelve times (with unimportant variations) in the Qur'ān,<sup>1</sup> and means to be pure or sincere towards Allah in religion, to be without hypocrisy in respect of religion, or to make Allah the exclusive object in one's religion. year 2 A.H. when Muhammad was beginning to free himself

In 2.133 the phrase occurs in an elliptical form, the words ad-dīn being omitted. In 39.16 the phrase is preceded by 'a'bad. In nine other instances it is preceded by the verb zda'a. But with or without these variations the phrase means to be free from doublemindedness or mental reservations concerning the worship of Allah and to make Him the exclusive object of one's religion. Ironically enough in three instances, 10.23, 31.31, 29.65, the words are used by men who call upon God and promise to serve Him exclusively if He will deliver them from the danger in which they find themselves. Alas, their promises were forgotten on reaching safety, and they returned to the worship of Allah in conjunction with the deities 29.65.

It is fairly certain that this phrase witnesses to the Qur'ān's concern for the unity and purity of the religion of Allah. It was convinced that the original unity of the dīn al-haqq revealed to Abraham and the later prophets had been destroyed in earlier generations through the creation of sects. E.g. 6.160 speaks of "those who divided their religion and became sects." 30.31 refers to "every sect rejoicing in what they have", meaning probably that each rejoiced over the Books granted to them.

Now undoubtedly the Qur'ān was alive to this danger and warned the Muslims against it. E.g., in a passage directed towards the Jews in 2 A.H. it warned against making a distinction "between

Allah and His apostles" by saying, "We believe in some but disbelieve in others" 4.149,151. Cf. also 2.130,285 which refers to Muslims. In another passage just before Uhud which concerns Jews and Christians believers are warned "to take tight hold of the rope of Allah altogether, and do not break up into sects" 3.98. And in the year 2 A.H. when Muhammed was beginning to free himself from the leading strings of Jews and Christians the Qur'ān bids him announce that he "has no part" with those (i.e. Jews and Christians) who "divide up their religion and become sects" 6.160. In 42.13 the Qur'ān traces the divisions among earlier monotheists to "mutual envy" (baghī).

Now probably the Qur'ān realised that Islām would be preserved in its pristine unity and sincerity only if those who surrendered themselves to Allah remained sincere in faith and made Allah the exclusive object of their worship. That this vision was not realised is made plain by the subsequent history of Islām. Not only are Muslims divided by sectarian loyalties; they also own allegiance to different rites.

The rites have arisen from the fact that orthodox Muslims attache themselves to one of the four great Schools, commonly called the Hanafī, the Shāfi'ī, the Mālikī and the Hanābalī Schools. The sects in Islām on the other hand are traceable to the various divisions in which the members of the four Schools range themselves, according to their attitude to various fundamental questions. The main causes of the sects in Islām have been the controversies which range round the three basic institutions, the prophetic office, the Caliphate, and the doctrine of Allah. But

---

References to 1 on p.15. 2.133, 4.145, 7.28, 10.23, 29.65, 31.31, 39.2,14,16, 40.14,67, 98.4.

although Islām is so seriously divided into these various camps there is a very real underlying sense of brotherhood that welds the heterogeneous mass into a whole.

The Qur'anic use of the root qarub may also be a guide to an understanding of the concept of religion in Islām. Lane points out that the 5th form means to draw near to God by prayer or by a righteous deed, though it may also mean to advance oneself in the favour of God. In this connection the word qurbān is of interest 31.79, 5.30. It means a sacrifice, oblation or gift offered to God.

Dr Jeffery suggests that it derives from Aramaic or Syriac and points out that it must represent an early borrowing because it occurs in early literature. Lane quotes a tradition which contains the phrase qurbānuhum dimā'uhum, their offering (to God) is their blood, meaning "they seek to bring themselves near unto God by shedding their blood in fighting in the cause of religion." He quotes still another tradition; as-salah qurbān kull taqiyy, i.e., the divinely appointed act of prayer is the offering (to God) of every pious person, meaning that by which the faithful seek to bring themselves near to God.

As already pointed out the root qarub occurs in the Qur'ān. 19.53 tells that "We (God) brought (Moses) near (qarrabnāhu) "in confidential talk." In 4.170 the angels are described as those who have been brought near (muqarrabūn). The same phrase is used of the faithful in 56.11, cf. also 83.21,28, 56.87, but notice that these references seem to have a marked eschatological significance. In 3.40 Jesus son of Mary is also one of the muqarribūn. Everywhere the assumption is that those highly favoured ones are being brought near to Allah Himself, as the



magicians of Egypt were told by Pharaoh that they would be brought near to him if they should prove victorious in the struggle with Moses 7.111, 26.41.

Now all this must be deemed to be significant for the concept of religion in Islām. The conviction that worship involved drawing near to God also makes significant the external features of religion in general, such as fasting, paying the Zakāt, and the Hajj, and upon the external features of prayer in particular, such as the ablutions and the observance of the qiblah. Doubtless these were thought to be either a means of preparation for drawing near, or an offering to ensure that the worshipper would be among "those brought near".

In considering the "religion of Allah" we shall have to take cognizance of a division that is generally imported into the Islamic doctrine of religion, the distinction between religious acts that are acts of worship in the strict sense of the term, and ethics (sunnah). It would be possible to argue that such a division is in fact artificial because both parts concern acts that are religious. On the other hand it is obvious that prayer, fasting, the shahādah, and the Zakāt have a more distinctive religious aura surrounding them than have the sunnah. We shall observe this division in the religion of Islām but it must be remembered that one category is not concerned with religious and the other with non-religious acts. Both are integral parts of the dīn al-haqq.

The second part of the shahādah, the apostleship of Muhammad, SHAHADAH.

The primary meaning of the root shahad is to give information, to witness, to see with one's own eyes. The root is used in this

sense in the Qur'ān. See e.g. 46.9, to give information or testify concerning something. In 3.16 it is said that Allah has given evidence that there is no deity but He. So the phrase 'ashhad 'an lā 'ilāh 'illā 'llah means I declare, testify, that there is no deity but Allah. So also in the whole kalimat as-shahādah one is witnessing, attesting, giving testimony.

Both the 5th and 10th forms are used of martyrdom in Allah's religion. This is, of course, a well known usage in Christianity. It was a form of witness (marturia) given by the martus who witnessed for Christ by his death. So in Islām. One who was slain fighting the cause of Allah was a shahīd, and shahādah also meant martyrdom in the cause of God's religion.

Allah Himself is called ash-shahīd because He was faithful or trusty in His testimony. And so the shahādah was a declaration of what one knows, it is evidence, an attestation. It is easy therefore to see how this act of witnessing by repeating the kalimat ash-shahādah came to be considered an act of worship, a form of religious service.

It has often been remarked with truth that the famous confession (or profession) of faith in Islām does not occur in the Qur'ān. However, the two elements of the shahādah are found there. E.g., the unity of Allah is stressed in surah 112. "He is Allah, One, Allah, the Eternal. He begetteth not nor is He begotten, there is none like unto Him." Cf. also 2.256, 21.26, 28.88.

The second part of the shahādah, the apostleship of Muhammed, is not prominent until near the close of the Meccan period. It is obvious that he considers himself co-equal with the other messengers. See e.g. 43.45, 91.13, 61.5f., where Moses, Ṣāliḥ

and Jesus son of Mary are described as apostles of Allah, and in each instance Muhammed is also referred to as "the Apostle of God." But the time came when he began to emphasize his own apostleship. E.g. in 7.157f., a Medinan verse, the call to believe in him as the Messenger of Allah is issued.

It is doubtful if the Qur'ān teaches that Muhammed ever considered himself to be the apostle of God to all mankind. It was left to Tradition to state the universality of Muhammed's mission though the possibility that such a conception was based on legendary material has to be borne in mind. Wensinck suggests that the fact that Muhammed's apostleship was not conceived by the Qur'ān in terms of universality may explain in part why the Qur'ān does not contain a credo similar to the shahādah. This, of course, does not mean that the elements of a credo are not present in the Qur'ān. Cf. e.g. 2.285, 4.135, 151. And the development of theory and practice shortly after Muhammed's death permitted the expression of the essentials of Islām of which the shahādah, the observance of the salāt, the sawm and the hajj, and the payment of the Zakāt are the most important. And anyone who was going to respond to God's demands in terms of dīn had to make the shahādah the starting point of that response. It was the repetition of the shahādah that made him a mū'min.

#### SAWM.

The primary meaning of the root sam is to abstain in an absolute sense. Its secondary meaning, rendering a particular service to God by fasting, is an extension of the first. In the long religious history of mankind this kind of religious service, as an expression of worship and devotion, and asca means



of discipline and purification, has been very common; and in Islām too the sawm is considered to be a religious service to God, a sacrifice to ensure one's acceptance with God, an act of worship offered on the part of those who desire to be brought near.

The Fast as a religious institution does not occupy a large place in the Qur'ān, and the few references there are indicate that the Qur'ān felt its way slowly towards a clarification of its ideas on the subject. At the end of the year 1 A.H. it speaks only of "a certain number of days" for fasting 2.180. In this verse fasting is still "voluntary", in the sense that if one fed "a poor man" one escaped the necessity of fasting, though it is added, "it is better for you to fast."

By 3 A.H. Ramādān has become the prescribed month for fasting; and if it were impossible to observe the Fast, by reason of ill-health or being on a journey, fast days at another period were to be observed in order to complete the regulation period 2.183. It is also in an early Medinan verse that the Muslims are told that fasting had also been prescribed for earlier peoples. In 1927 the Qur'ān reports Mary as saying, "I have vowed to the Merciful a fast", in consequence of which she would not speak "to any human kind."

By the year 7 A.H. more definite teaching concerning the sawm is given. Eating and drinking on the nights of Ramādān are permissible until early dawn. Sexual intercourse is also now to be allowed. It appears that the faithful had imposed a bann on these, but now a relaxation is granted, though a rigid cessation of these during daylight is commanded 2.183.

During the mid and later Medinan periods sawm began to be

thought of in terms of penance, or of penalty imposed in cases of certain misdemeanours or offences. In 4.94 a fast lasting "two consecutive months" was imposed on the believer who, having slain another Muslim, was required to pay blood-money but found himself unable to do so.

In the mid Medinan period it became a means of expiation for the breaking of an oath, but in this instance the prescribed period of fasting is only three days 5.91. At about the time of Hūdaybiyah, or perhaps just after it, sawm is spoken of as a penalty for the use of what Dr Bell describes as "a pagan formula of divorce" 58.2,5. And finally, in two late verses fasting is a legal punishment for hunting when one is "in a state of sanctity" 5.96, or as compensation for failure to observe the Hajj 2.192.

Clearly then the sawm was considered to be an important religious act. It was a means of maintaining oneself in a proper relation with God, and it also helped to expiate one's failures in the relationships with one's fellows. Quite definitely it was thought of as a means of expiating both ritual offences and offences against social morality, and as such it must have been thought of as a religious service in the strictest sense.

### HAJJ.

The primary meaning of the root hajj is simply to repair, or to betake oneself, to a place or person, in an absolute sense. Hence it has come to mean to repair to Mecca to perform the religious rites and ceremonies of the Hajj. The active participle, hajj, is used of a Pilgrim to Mecca.

The regulations concerning the Hajj occupy an even smaller place in the Qur'an than do those that govern the observance of the sawm.

It was in the middle of the year 2 A.H. that Muhammed declared that Abraham had been responsible for establishing the Hajj 22.27ff. The significance of this has already been referred to. The times for observing the Hajj were determined by the appearance of the new moon 2.185. Between the change of the qiblah and the Battle of Badr permission was granted to incorporate into the Hajj the pagan custom of making the circuit of two hills in the vicinity of the Ka'bah 2.153, and after Badr regulations governing the observance of the Hajj were issued 2.193.

It was to be observed principally in the true spirit of piety. Even before Badr the Pilgrimage to the Ka'bah had become a command that had to be obeyed 3.91. Again, in 2.192 we read, "Fulfil the Pilgrimage....unto Allah." In 9.19 the importance of the Hajj is again stressed.

The fact that piety was the best preparation for a correct observance of the Hajj, that it was to be fulfilled "unto Allah", and that it involved deeply significant ritual acts and the visit to the sacred Ka'bah, undoubtedly made the Pilgrimage a religious service of great importance. In a real sense the Hajj must have felt that he was offering an act of worship to God. Although his attention would be concentrated upon the ritual acts involved, thus making it difficult for him to look upon the Hajj as a means of establishing communion with God, yet there may have been present the conviction that in that moment he was among those that are being brought near.

## ZAKAT.

Dr Jeffery believes that the primary meaning of the root zaka was to grow or flourish, although Lane says that authorities are divided on the question. It may also have meant to become pure,



but if Dr Jeffery is correct then this would be secondary, and not only secondary but, he thinks, "borrowing from the older religions."

He points out that the root in Hebrew, Phoenicia, and in the related Aramaic and Syriac, it means "to be clean or pure in a moral sense", though in Aramaic and Syriac the sense of physical cleanness is also present. In Dr Jeffery's opinion zakā "in its technical religious sense" was taken over from an Aramaic form. What is not possible to decide is whether this technical sense had a Jewish or a Christian origin. The probability seems to be that it came from Christian sources.

In the 2nd form in Arabic the idea of purity seems to pre-dominate and means to render pure. In 91.9 the Qur'ān speaks of the prosperity of the man who purifies his nafs. In 24.21 it is said that "Allah purifies whom He will." In 9.104 Muhammed is commanded to take of the believers' possessions "a poor-rate (sadaqah) whereby he will cleanse (tahhar) and purify (zakka) them." Clearly the paying of the poor tax was believed to purify the giver.

The Zakāt was a tax or legal alms that Muhammed imposed upon the mu minun for the support of the indigent Muslims and for other purposes. See e.g. 2.40, 104, 4.79, etc. According to Dr Bell we cannot be certain when the payment of the Zakāt was instituted. In this famous substantive the ideas of augmentation and purification are both present.

The Zakāt may be an increase from the blessing of the Lord; but according to Muslim authorities it may also signify purification from defilement in the sense that an alms purifies the soul from

covetousness etc., and in this instance the reference is to purification through religious service. Zakāt was the means of purification. And surely here we are at the heart of one of the highest religious ideals known to man, second perhaps to the highest of all religious conceptions, that of communion with God.

The Zakāt was also conceived to be the portion due to God out of one's property and it was believed that the Zakāt purified the remainder of the property and might be considered to provide grounds for the hope that God would increase the property. We have noticed that the idea of the Zakāt purifying the rest of one's wealth is present in the Qur'ān 9.104.

Dr Jeffery points out however that as a technical religious term Zakāt has been borrowed from older faiths. It has been suggested that it originated in the Aramaic zakūth which meant purity or innocence, and then came to signify merit. Apparently it never meant alms though it is not impossible that it was given this meaning by the Jews in Arabia in pre-Islamic times. But Nöldeke was inclined to believe that Zakāt, as a special word, may have originated with Muḥammed himself.

The adjectival form, zakiyy, also occurs in the Qur'ān. The angel promises Mary a ghulam zakiyy, a boy pure from sins; and 18.73 speaks of a nafs zakiyyah.

Clearly then the payment of the Zakāt was a religious service of the greatest importance to the Muslim. This is emphasized in the Qur'ān by the very frequent mention of salāt along with Zakāt 19.32, 5.60, etc. In the latter reference it is also linked with "bowing down (in worship)", while in 7.155 and in other references it is connected with "faith and piety".

The Qur'ān conceived that earlier peoples had been obliged to perform this same religious service. E.g., Jews and Christians 98.4, the Children of Israel 2.77, 5.15. Cf. also 19.32,56, 21.73. The refusal of the polytheists to pay the Zakāt was one of the features that distinguished them from the mu'minūn 41.6, although if the former were taken captive they were to be set free on their paying the Zakāt 9.5.

The payment of the Zakāt was one of the outstanding merits of believers 9.72, 22.42. In 21.73 "the doing of good deeds" was suggested to Isaac and Jacob, the good deeds being offering prayer and paying the Zakāt. The Zakāt was paid out of a desire to gain the favour of God 30.38. It was equivalent to lending a loan to Allah 73.20, and although He blots out usury He causes the Zakāt to bear interest 2.277, and a mighty hire would one day be paid out to those who fulfilled this religious act 4.160. This was perhaps the "mercy" that had been "prescribed" for those who paid the Zakāt 7.155, cf. too 24.55, 31.3.

It goes without saying that this form of religious service would have a distinctly political significance, but probably for many Muslims the former meaning, the religious one, would predominate. The Zakāt was thought of as being a contribution to the cause of Allah and therefore a sacrifice.

It reminded the contributor that he had social and religious obligations to fulfil, and as the observance of these would tend to counteract niggardliness and self-interest they would be reckoned to exercise a purifying effect upon the nafs; and since, in addition, the payment of the Zakāt was conceived to 'sanctify' the remainder of a man's wealth the observance of this religious duty would have far-reaching influences on the sincere Muslim. It



would be for him an act of worship and an expression of his devotion to Allah and the Prophet. Of course it might not have such deep significance for the majority. Probably with many the political factor predominated, for others it would be simply an obligation that had to be fulfilled since refusal to pay the Zakāt was equivalent to a rejection of the leadership of Muhammed as prophet and legislator.

### SALĀT.

It seems that prayer was a distinctive feature of the Muslim community from the beginning. It is referred to in the earliest passages in the Qur'ān. We know too that Muhammed engaged in prayer and other devotional exercises even before his call to the prophetic office came to full self-consciousness. Night prayer was practised by Muslims in the early days of the Meccan period, and 96.9f. suggests that the opponents of Islām attacked this practice of prayer from the first.

There is also the well known tradition in which Muhammed says, "Between belief and unbelief lies the neglect of prayer. Now since this tradition "belongs to the old stock of traditions" (Wensinck) it suggests that in the very early period great importance was attached to prayer in particular and to religious observance in general.

We have already drawn attention to the Qur'anic conviction that to engage in worship was to place oneself "among those that are brought near." Now it is clear that the Qur'ān considered that prayer was a drawing near to Allah. It understood that prayer was the means of approach to God. See 96.19 where the faithful are commanded to "do obeisance (sajad) and draw near

('iqtarib). It is significant that in 4.46 the same verb occurs in the command, "Come not nigh to prayer....when intoxicated."

Neither possessions nor children can bring one near to God; only "he who believes and acts uprightly" can gain access 34.36. In 9.100 we are told of some Bedouin who thought that "contributions" and "the prayers of the Apostle" were "a means of access to Allah" and the Qur'ān does not condemn this attitude. In what is thought to be a reference to Christians the Qur'ān speaks of those who choose patrons to bring them near to Allah in intimacy 39.4, but the Qur'ān regards this idea with disfavour.

And it is, of course, this conviction that in prayer the Muslim draws near to God that makes significant the external features of prayer. If to pray meant that one was among those that are brought near then it was most important to pray only after one was ritually clean 5.8f. The correct posture in prayer 7.28, 25.65, 39.12, careful attention to the qiblah 2.136-140, 144f., to the places where prayer should be offered 2.119, 9.108f., 24.36, and to the times when prayer should be offered 4.104, 17.80f., 24.57, 30.16f., become deeply significant when prayer is conceived to be the means of drawing near to God.

These external features of prayer were treated as essentials in the practice of prayer. We shall see that the attitude of heart and a true intention of mind were by no means neglected. These also are prominent in the Qur'ān and are treated as essential factors in prayer, but both Tradition and the Qur'ān are concerned pre-eminently with such matters as physical purification and turning to the qiblah in prayer. Apparently physical uncleanness and carelessness<sup>had</sup> concerning both the direction in which one turned in prayer and the times of, and posture in, prayer were considered to

render prayer null and void.

The near presence of God is also referred to by the Qur'an in connection with prayer. E.g., God "is near, responsive" 11.64; "He hears and is near at hand" 34.49, cf. too 50.15, 56.84. The fullest expression of this conviction is found in 2.182, "Lo, I am near to answer the call of the caller when he calls upon Me..." Obviously the practice of prayer was not an empty or vain thing for many in the Muslim community. It was the means, par excellence, of approach to God, and the sincere worshipper discovered that there was an appropriate response on the part of God.

And because Islām is a monotheistic faith it follows that prayer should be offered to Allah alone. Prayer to any other deity shall never be answered 13.15. And when praying a man must be sincere in his religion 7.28 and give glory (sabbih) to Allah 52.49. The petitioner may use the name Allah or er-Rahmān 17.110 though any of "the most beautiful names" may be used in prayer 7.179, 17.110.

None may approach God in prayer when "intoxicated" until "he knows what he can say", nor may one come to prayer "polluted" 4.46, 5.8f. One must not "shout publicly" in prayer, nor on the other hand "speak it low in secret" but is to seek a happy medium between these two extremes 17.110. Cf. also 7.204, "Remember thy Lord within thyself, in humility and fear, without shouting."

Humility in prayer is also commended. Concerning their prayers it is said of Zechariah and his wife that "they used to humble themselves" 21.90. Believers "who in their prayer are humble" are especially commended 23.2. They are urged to call upon Allah "in humility and secret" 7.53, and to "stand (in worship) to Allah reverently" 2.239. True believers "are those whose hearts thrill



with fear when Allah is mentioned" 8.2, 22.35f., and the Qur'ān urges them to "call upon God in fear and longing" 7.54, and cf. 21.90. Of one it is said, "he is devoutly obedient.....prostrating himself and standing (in prayer) being careful of the Hereafter and hoping for the mercy of his Lord" 39.12.

On the other hand those who approach prayer irreverently and carelessly are condemned. "Woe" is pronounced against "those who of their prayer are careless, who make a show but withhold succour" 107.4-11. 4.141 condemns "the Hypocrites" who "when they rise up to pray, rise up lazily (kusālā) to be seen of men, and do not remember Allah". Cf. also 9.54.

Perseverance in the performance of prayer is also commended. 3.188 and 4.104 speak of those who remember Allah "standing and sitting and (lying) on their sides"; and this Dr Bell understands to mean "continually". The verb used for the performance of prayer is qām, meaning to observe or establish prayer 2.2,40, 8.3, 7.169; but this root may also be translated 'persevere' or 'persist in prayer'. course, Allah is represented as hearing and answering

Surah 17 recounts Muhammed's temptation to compromise with unbelievers vv.75-79, but he is commanded to "observe" prayer "at the sinking of the sun until the darkening of the night" and "to keep vigil therein as an extra for thyself" vv.80f. Clearly persistence in prayer is considered to be a safeguard against temptation. Again, in 29.44 the Qur'ān commands the observance of prayer and adds, "prayer restrains from indecencies and from what is disreputable."

In 6.92 the verb hafaz is used of the observance of prayer. Here Dr Bell translates it 'carefully guard', which makes the nuance of perseverance in prayer even more definite. In 20.132

Muhammed is commanded to make his household "prayer and endure patiently ('astabar) in it."

It has been noticed in an early section that the Qur'ān discourages intercession on behalf of unbelievers, but the same may be said with some justification concerning petitions for the faithful too. Those who intercede with Allah do so only with His permission 2.250. In 9.104 the Prophet is told to pray for certain believers and is reminded that his prayers "are a repose for them." In 33.56 we are told that "Allah and His angels pray over the Prophet" and the believers are commanded to "pray for him."

But prayer for the opponents of Islām who die in unbelief is completely inefficacious 9.85. Though Muhammed should ask forgiveness for them seventy times seven Allah will not forgive them because of their unbelief 9.81, even although they be relatives 9.114. Unbelievers "will not benefit from the intercession by intercessors" 74.49, after death.

But, of course, Allah is represented as hearing and answering the prayers of the faithful. "Lo, I am near to answer the call of the caller when he calls upon Me...." 2.182. The birth of John the Baptist was an answer to prayer. In response to Zechariah's petition, "Lord grant me from Thee a good seed. Verily Thou hearest prayer" 3.33, the angel announced, "Allah gives thee the glad tidings of John" 3.34, 19.7.

Again, Moses prayed, along with his people 10.85f., and the divine response was, "Thy prayer is answered" 10.89. And again, in 8.9 the Qur'ān says to believers in general, "(Recall) when ye were calling upon your Lord for help, and He responded to you: 'I am coming to reinforce you.....'"

The Qur'ān also conceived that prayer brought spiritual benefit to the earnest believer. E.g., it affected his moral life. "Prayer restrains from indecency and what is disreputable" 29.44. It also counteracted the tendency to impatience and niggardliness. "Verily, man was created impatient, and when evil affects him, apt to grieve, when good befalls him, niggardly; except those who pray, those who remain long at their prayer" 70.19-23. Believers are urged to "seek aid from patience and prayer" 2.148, "though it is a hard thing save for the humble" 2.42.

### SUNNAH.

The term sunnah refers commonly to the way or manner of conduct pursued and prescribed to be followed, by Muḥammed. Strictly speaking the term has relevance to usages which are not found in the Qur'ān; at the beginning there sunnah meant the custom of the community which was handed down orally. But gradually it came to be used only of the usage set by Muḥammed himself in the form of precept or example. they do not occupy a prominent place. In

It is a common conviction among the Muslims that in all that he did and said Muḥammed was supernaturally guided, and that his acts and words became, and still are, a divine rule of faith and practice for all believers. In a very real sense therefore the sunnah formed an indispensable basis of religious faith and practice. The phrase 'ahl as-sunnah' means those belonging to the people who follow the institutes of the Prophet, the rules and usages that he followed; and this is an indispensable part of the response that a Muslim makes to God. and while none of these

The basis of this is both al-kitāb and as-sunnah, the Qur'ān and Tradition, though the latter predominates. This fact should



automatically place this subject beyond the scope of this thesis, but since the sunnah forms an integral part of the dīn al-islām notice must be taken of it in any discussion of ad-dīn as man's response to God's demands. The fact of the matter is that in matters concerning dīn the Qur'ān is not all-sufficient guide.

Lane points out that there are three different categories of usage in the sunnah. It may involve a rule or usage that is pursued in religion without being obligatory. There may also be the sunnah of supererogatory acts which involves usages and customs that are good to observe but the omission of which entails no blame at all. But there is also the sunnat al-hudā which involves "that of which the observance is a completion of religion, and it is that to the omission or neglect whereof attache blame and misdemeanour."

In spite of the large place that sunnah has come to have in religion for the Muslim it is remarkable that the early surahs were not pre-occupied with ethics to any great extent. While they are not completely ignored they do not occupy a prominent place. In the early chapters the Qur'ān is concerned to urge the avoidance of covetousness and niggardliness and the fostering of generosity; cf. e.g. 90.12-16, 93.7-11, 80.1-10. Perhaps such acts of open-handedness were, in pre-Islamic times, performed in order to placate the divine powers and win their goodwill as did the heathen by means of animal sacrifice.

In later surahs however the question of ethics was taken up in earnest and several lists of laws or commandments are given. We have selected eighteen of these lists, and while none of these summaries is comparable at all with the Mosaic decalogue yet it is

1. 2.172, 6.152-154, 7.25-31, 9.72, 10.104-108, 13.19-25, 16.92f.
- 17.23-42, 22.76-78, 23.1-9, 25.64-74, 29.44f.

possible to set out systematically the various laws in each list. Ignoring the more purely religious acts of worship such as prayer, and the command to serve Allah alone, we reach the following results. (1) The duty of dispensing kindness and justice; (2) The duty of avoiding disreputable conduct (al-munkar) in its various manifestations, which would include wine-drinking, killing a person without justification, playing maysar, practising usury, etc. (3) The duty of avoiding indecent conduct (al-fawāhish) etc. (4) The duty of paying the Zakāt and "contributions"; (5) The duty of honouring one's oath or covenant; (6) The duty of manifesting patience in adversity.

It is clear that the Qur'ān both enjoins what is just and prohibits what is evil. Before the Battle of Uhud the Qur'ān could urge the faithful to form "a community inviting to good, urging what is reputable, and restraining from what is disreputable" 3.100, and could assure them further that they have become "the best community ever produced for the people" in guidance concerning what ought, and what ought not, to be done.

Which was equivalent to saying that the community of Islām had become the conscience of mankind. In 7.156 the Qur'ān points out that it is Muhammed's task to "urge" both Jews and Christians "to what is reputable" and "to restrain them from what is disreputable." And the believers fulfil this same function among themselves, and

in so doing they strengthen and inspire one another 9.72. In Cont. from p.33. 31.11f., 15f., 32.15f., 42.34-40, 48.29, 60.12, 70.22-34.

1. 2.172, 6.152f., 7.31, 9.72, 16.92, 17.24, 28, 36f., 42.35, 48.29, 60.12, 70.24.
2. 6.152, 7.29, 9.72, 13.25, 16.92, 17.29, 33, 35, 39, 25, 68, 72f., 29.44, 31.16-18, 42.40, 60.12.
3. 6.152, 7.25-27, 31, 16.92, 17.34, 23.5-7, 25.68, 29.44, 42.35, 60.12, 70.29.
4. 2.172, 9.72, 13.22, 22.78, 23.4, 25.67, 32.16, 42.36.
5. 2.172, 6.153, 13.20, 16.93, 23.8, 25.72, 70.32f.
6. 2.172, 10.107, 13.22, 31.16, 42.41.

22.42, 31.16, the fulfilling of this function is placed on a par with prayer and almsgiving. Cf. also 9.113.

Now this emphasis on ethics in the Qur'ān (but especially in the sunnah) is symptomatic of the general attitude towards religion in Islām. Even the observance of what might be called purely religious acts (even prayer itself, in spite of the high conception of prayer to which the Qur'ān undoubtedly rises) is thought of in terms of rigid, if not slavish, obedience to the regulations of the Sharī'ah. On the part of Muslims generally there is little spontaneous and personal communion with God in religion. The emphasis is on external law.

And, as has just been said, even in the most spiritual of the religious observances in Islām, that of salāt, the emphasis is on the externals not on the spiritual intention. To be efficacious prayer must be done at the proper time, in the prescribed manner, towards the qiblah, and only after physical uncleanness has been ceremonially removed. If these are not scrupulously observed salāt is unacceptable to Allah. The watchword of Islām is legalism, the meticulous observance of religious rites and ethical duties. The moral and spiritual aspects of ad-dīn are often in the background. Strict conformity with the regulations of an external code of laws is the over-riding concern everywhere.

If therefore the final test of the dīn al-islām is not a moral one but rather conformity to a hard and fast code of conduct the moral dangers in such a situation immediately become serious in the extreme. If the pious man is the man who knows and observes the Sharī'ah such an observance may leave considerable areas of the moral life untouched by his religion.

It means too that finally sin is not really a moral problem at



all. It becomes simply a matter of transgressing the commandments or prohibitions of a legal code. And, as was suggested in chapter IV where the question of man's moral problem was discussed, this kind of religion will never feel the necessity for salvation in the Christian sense of the term since strictly speaking there is nothing to be saved from, nor can there ever be much awareness of the need for a new heart or a change of character, a need to which even the Old Testament bears witness Ezek.11,19, 18.31, 36.26. Even the realisation of a coming judgment can exercise little influence on the moral life since the Muslim is tolerably sure that at the last his goodworks will outweigh his evil works; i.e., his transgressions of the Shari'ah will not exceed his obedience to the code, and this will ensure a deliverance from hell.

It must not be implied from this, of course, that the Muslim is dominated by any utilitarian motives in his observance of the Shari'ah. This is well expressed by Professor H.A.R.Gibb in his book Modern Trends in Islām pp.52,133, where he is discussing the serious ethical problem which arises when belief in hell has become largely inoperative. He points out that "Islām rejects any utilitarianism in its ethics"; andwhile the author recognises that the thought of the Day of Judgment has succeeded in rousing the great mass of Muslimsto moral endeavour, to a degree of spiritual earnestness and to the performance of goodworks, yet where belief in hell disappears the moral breakdown can be and does become really serious.

The tradition quoted by Professor Gibb, "These are in the Garden I care not; and these are in the Fire I care not" sums up well the conviction in Islām that there must be no utilitarian motive in its ethics. He observes that "men are required to do good because they are commanded to do so by God, not in order to gain paradise."

Of course this attitude cannot be predicated of all Muslims. A healthy fear of hell does act as a powerful deterrent in the region of morals among many in Islām, though one recognises that that is not a high ethical motive. But in the experience of many Muslims this fear of the Day of Judgment is allied with the motives of gratitude and love toward God, a motive which often expresses itself in a true religious attitude because it in itself often possesses a deeply religious undertone.

The doctrine of sunnah exposes Islām to one particular danger. It engenders a tendency to formalism and rigidity which makes it well nigh impossible for Islām to maintain a self-development that would keep it relevant to the constantly changing human scene, and to the new and unresolved problems that persistently present themselves to the minds of men. The nature of the case makes adaptability and alteration of the sunnah impossible hence it can have little relevance to the problems of to-day. Indeed even to suggest that adaptation is necessary strikes a blow at the very foundation on which the sunnah was built up- that it is a divine and, therefore, a perfect guide for men.

There emerges, then, from this discussion of the concept of religion in Islām the fact that there is a very decided distinction between the spiritual and the non-spiritual in the dīn al-islām, and it is the latter that predominates. The Islamic attitude to salāt is a case in point. Although the spiritual factors have their place in the Qur'ān yet in actual practice it is the external features that are undoubtedly emphasized, to the serious detriment of the former; and since this operates in the highest exercise of the spirit concerning dīn in Islām we can well imagine that matters are worse in the other institutions that constitute religion in

Islām. Perhaps this is to be accounted for by the failure of Islām to attribute moral qualities to God, and doubtless too the unsatisfactory theory of sin was another contributory factor.

Religion for the Muslim is to be understood not in terms of communion with God but rather in conformity with the regulations of the Sharī'ah. The emphasis is on ethics not a personal relationship with God. Religion in the sense of religious piety is not holiness in the Christian view of that term; it is not sanctification but rigid obedience to the regulations of the Sharī'ah. Strictly speaking when a Muslim prays he is observing a law that is incumbent upon a pious man, he is fulfilling a duty that God has laid upon him.

A.J.Wensinck suggests that this distinction between what may be called the spiritual and the non-spiritual aspects of Islām was not noticeable in Qur'anic times, and our consideration of the passages in the Qur'ān that refer to the institutions in the religion of Islām would seem to bear him out in this contention. He thinks that "the little flock of original Islām" remained more or less distinct from the masses that joined the ranks of the faithful during the first period of expansion and conquest. And in refusing to merge with the millions of believers this select group became "the conscience of Islām, guiding and watching, lest the pure gold should become defiled." In the opinion of Wensinck this elite in Islām succeeded in creating a distinction between "religion as a matter of ritual only and religion as an inner experience", but that it was not until a much later period that the results of this became noticeable (The Muslim Creed p.36.). However that may be there is little evidence of any such clear-cut distinction in the Qur'ān.



acute subjective and objective problems to face as he persevered in his task. Because he was constantly developing, spiritually and intellectually, it was natural that his progress in eschatological ideas should follow a rather zigzag course.

Sometimes he spoke as if the Hour was about to strike 21.1, 27.73f., at other times he does not know "the times or the seasons."

Again, sometimes he MAN AND THE LAST THINGS and concerned with eschatological ideas than at other times; but when one considers that he worked and preached for twenty years, during which time circumstances altered sometimes suddenly and profoundly we will not expect a carefully thought out and well balanced eschatology.

The doctrine of the Last Things is an important aspect of the anthropology of the Qur'ān, and one in which the faithful have always taken a lively interest. Unlike Jewish apocalypse and the eschatology of Christianity, the Qur'ān does not foresee a field of Armageddon where God will overthrow vast combinations of forces arrayed against Him and when, after a catastrophic end, He will establish a millenium of peace and plenty on earth. Of such hopes the Qur'ān knows nothing, but it does offer a great eschatological hope to the believer. Man occupies a central place in the Qur'anic scheme of the Last Things, and it is inevitable that it should be included in a discussion of the doctrine of Man in the Qur'ān.

It goes without saying that Muhammed<sup>2</sup> did not start out with a cut-and-dried doctrine of eschatology. The position that finally emerged was one towards which he had to feel his way slowly, and not in a straight line either. But this is what one would expect if one has due regard to the situation in which Muhammed found himself. He was, as Dr Bell points out, "a living man" who had

acute subjective and objective problems to face as he persevered in his task. Because he was constantly developing, spiritually and intellectually, it was natural that his progress in eschatological ideas should follow a rather zigzag course.

Sometimes he spoke as if the Hour was about to strike 21.1, 27.73f., at other times he does not know "the times or the seasons." Again, sometimes he is more acutely aware of, and concerned with eschatological ideas than at other times; but when one considers that he worked and preached for twenty years, during which time circumstances altered sometimes suddenly and profoundly we will not expect a carefully thought out and well balanced eschatology. But there are, on the other hand, some fundamental principles expressed in this realm of ideas and we shall have to consider them in this closing chapter of our discussion of the anthropology of the Qur'ān.

3.150. The words, "No misfortune has happened but by the permission of Allah" 64.11, refer to the same incident. Since "no one knows the time of his death" 31.34, one can only resign himself to death" 21.36, 29.57. Allah "did not appoint to any human being .....immortality" 21.35; not even the apostles 21.7f. God alone is "the Living One who never dies" 25.60. Allah is "the Eternal" (as-samad) 112.2.

In common with Jewish and Christian scriptures the Qur'ān reveals a deep awareness of death. "Every person is subject to death" 21.36, 29.57. Allah "did not appoint to any human being .....immortality" 21.35; not even the apostles 21.7f. God alone is "the Living One who never dies" 25.60. Allah is "the Eternal" (as-samad) 112.2.

Adam's desire for immortality made him accessible to temptation. To him and his spouse Satan whispered, "Your Lord hath only forbidden you this tree ("the tree of eternity", al-khuld, 20.118) lest ye become.....of the immortals" (khālidīn) 7.19, and promised them "a kingship (mulk) that grows not old" 20.118. Human history has demonstrated the vanity of such a hope. The rich man's endeavour to "perpetuate" his name and memory by reason of "his

wealth" is also vain 104.3.

It is the consistent conviction of the Qur'an that life and death are in the hands of Allah. Indeed 67.2 says that He "created al-mawt and al-hayah." "He causeth to live and He causeth to die" (yumit) 3.150, 7.158, 9.117, 53.45, etc. Nor will Allah "defer (yū<sup>ak</sup>khkir) (the death of) any person when his time comes" 63.11, whether it be of believers 63.9-11, or unbelievers 14.45f.

Allah "has decreed (qaddar) death amongst" men 56.60, therefore ".....it is not given to anyone to die except by permission ('idhn) of Allah written and dated" (mu'ajjal) 3.139. It was therefore meaningless for pagans to say, "We die, and we live, and it is only dahr (time or fate) that destroys us" 45.23, and for the believers, mourning the death of relatives slain at Uhud, to say, "If they had been at home they would not have died or been killed" 3.150. The words, "No misfortune has happened but by the permission of Allah" 64.11, refer to the same incident. Since "no one knows the land of his death" 31.34, one can only resign himself saying, "My living and my dying are in the hands of Allah" 6.163.

In speaking of death the Qur'an uses the verb tawaffā, by which it means that God takes the soul of man either at death or in sleep. I.e., He causes man to die, cf. 6.60. It may be Allah Himself who carries off the soul as e.g. in the case of Jesus son of Mary 3.48, 5.117, of Pharaoh's magicians 7.123, of Joseph 12.102, and of believers in general 3.191; or the angels, but with this significant difference: when Allah takes the soul away it is always the believers who are in view; when the angels carry off the nafs the Qur'an is concerned with unbelievers. There is one exception, 16.34. Otherwise it has relevance to the souls of idolaters 7.35,



or of those who wrong themselves 16.30, or of unbelievers 8.52, 6.61, 32.11, or of those who are "living in wrong-doing" by refusing to emigrate to Muslim territory 4.99, or of those who are renegades from Islām and hesitant in believing 47.27ff.

During a man's lifetime Allah "sendeth watchers over" him 6.61, to record his deeds. At the moment of death "the two meet, one on the right and one on the left" 50.16, and Dr Bell suggests that these are the angels of death and the angel who attends a man during his life-time.

When the angels come to take the soul away they "stretch out their hands" 6.93, and "beat" the unbelievers "before and behind" 8.52. Perhaps this is the Qur'ān's explanation of the struggles that often occur just before death. The Qur'ān seems to imply that they are due to the difficulty experienced by the soul in liberating itself from the body. It speaks of the soul "coming to the wind-pipe" 56.82, and "coming to the collar-bones" 75.26, and the attendant struggles are described in vv.28f. of the same surah.

#### THE INTERMEDIATE STATE.

What is of more immediate relevance to our subject is the question of the destination of the soul immediately after death, and of the intermediate state of the soul between death and the final judgment. Like the New Testament the Qur'ān does not define accurately its view of the intermediate state, although one or two references may be cited which, to a limited extent, clarify its position in this matter.

32.11 says of those who disbelieve the resurrection, "The angel of death shall take you away.....then to your Lord will you be re-

turned", while 6.62 speaks in almost identical terms of Allah's "servants". They are "returned to Allah their true Master" immediately after the angels have called them in. 39.43 speaks of the souls of men returning to God in sleep and says that "Allah retains" those upon whom He has decreed death, while He sends back the remainder for a stated time. which they cannot escape until the "Those who have been killed in the way of Allah" are not to be described as "dead". On the contrary, they are "alive" 2.149, and are "with their Lord, provided for" 3.163. Just before Uhud the faithful are told, "Surely if ye die or are killed to Allah will ye be gathered" 3.152. And concerning Jesus son of Mary the Qur'ān says, "I will raise (rāfi') thee to Myself" 3.48. This seems to refer, not to the resurrection but to Allah's translating Jesus immediately from earth to glory. will remain there until the 4.99 seems to suggest that the soul will be interrogated by the angels, and this inquisition appears to follow immediately after death. It is widely believed among Muslims that this examination after death is conducted by the two angels Munkar and Nakīr, who are thought to visit and question the souls of the dead in the grave. loved until the day of the resurrection" 3.48. When the Then it seems that the soul is sent either to the Fire or to the Garden. 6.93 speaks of "wrong-doers in the floods of death" to whom "the angels stretch out their hands" and say, "....to-day ye shall receive the punishment of humiliation.....". Again, 8.52 describes "angels calling in those who have disbelieved, beating them before and behind and (saying), 'Taste ye the punishment of the burning.'" has a continuous existence apart from the body, that 16.30 reports "those whom the angels call in" and "who then try to make peace" saying, "We have not been doing any evil." 16 To these

the angels reply, "Yea, verily Allah knoweth what ye have been doing. So enter the gates of hell, therein to abide." And in 56.91-94, where the subject is the person who has just died, cf. v.82, the Qur'ān says, "If he be of those who are astray, then a reception banquet of hot (water)...." And in 23.102 the unbelieving dead are in a place from which they cannot escape until the day of the resurrection. "Behind them is a barrier until the day when they will be raised up."

Another hint concerning the state of the unbelieving dead is found in 3.182. After the assurance that "on the day of the resurrection" men "will be paid rewards in full" the verse continues, "Then he who is removed from the Fire and taken into the Garden will have come off well." Clearly, the person concerned has been in the Fire from the day of death, and will remain there until the resurrection.

On the other hand, it appears that the faithful enter paradise after death, though they do not fully participate in the 'delights' of the Garden until after the resurrection. E.g., the followers of Jesus son of Mary are described as "being above those who have disbelieved until the day of the resurrection" 3.48. When the angels carry off the souls of the faithful they say to them, "Peace be upon you! Enter the Garden for what ye have been doing" 16.34. If after death a person "be of those brought near" then his immediate destination is "a garden of delight" 56.87f. These references to the believing and the unbelieving dead underline some remarks that Dr Bell makes somewhere, "Some Medinan passages imply that the soul has a continuous existence apart from the body, that judgment upon it takes place after death, and that those who have died for the cause of Allah are now in felicity" 2.149, 3.163ff.



It will have been noticed from the foregoing references that there is no suggestion of judgment on a grand scale conducted by Allah. It is rather a preliminary investigation carried out by the angels that is envisaged. Again, there is no suggestion that the state of the soul, either of the believer or the unbeliever, is permanent. It is a temporary arrangement which will end on the day of the resurrection when the final Judgment will be held. The last Judgment will not be presided over by the angels. Allah Himself will conduct it. Cf. e.g. 6.159, "Do they (unbelievers) expect anything but that the angels should come to them (i.e. at death), or that thy Lord should come (i.e. on the Judgment Day).....? It is at this Final Judgment that the destiny of each person will be decided.

There is, of course, a sense in which one's fate is decided immediately after death, the event that marks the close of the probationary period. There is certainly no dubiety in this matter where the unbelievers are concerned. In 9.85 the Prophet is commanded never to pray "over anyone of them when he is dead..... They have disbelieved in Allah and His Apostle, and have died while they were reprobates.

Even a deathbed repentance is unavailing. Allah's relenting "is not for those who do evil until, when one of them is in the very presence of death, he says, 'I repent now'" 4.22, cf. 16.30. Requests to be sent back to earth in order to have a second chance will be refused, "behind them is a barrier until the day when they will be raised up" 23.101f. From anyone who dies in unbelief "not the earth-full of gold, were he to offer it as a ransom, will be accepted" 3.85. Concerning those who die unbelievers the Qur'ān says, "Upon them is the curse of Allah, and the angels, and the

people as a whole" 2.156. No matter how long the day of the resurrection tarries the fate of unbelievers is unalterable. For them the intermediate state is a period of waiting to hear pronounced a fate that is already inevitable.

It appears however that there is a certain class of people whose fate is not yet irrevocably determined. In an interesting passage, 19.67-73, which concerns those who disbelieve the resurrection the Qur'ān declares, "We (Allah) will certainly round them up....then bring them close around hell kneeling, and then will We draw out from each party those of them who against the Merciful are most in excess; then surely We know best those who are worthiest of it for roasting."

Thus far the passage suggests that there will be degrees of punishment in hell; but it continues, "Not one of you but shall go down to it.....Then We shall deliver those who have shown piety; and leave the wrong-doers therein kneeling." Clearly the Qur'ān envisages the possibility of "those who have shown piety" (ittaqāu) being delivered from hell (on the day of the resurrection?); but a careful distinction is made between them and the wrong-doers" v.73. But since both groups disbelieved the resurrection are we to assume that there were among those who rejected the idea of a resurrection some who "showed piety"? Did these believe in Allah as the sole spiritual reality in the universe, and in His Apostle, and, at the same time, hold mental reservations concerning the resurrection?

In the light of this passage, 19.67-73, it is interesting (and perhaps instructive) to consider 4.99 which refers to those who refused to emigrate to Muslim territory. The Qur'ān does not say that they were Muslims but it is safe to assume that they were,

otherwise why appeal to them to emigrate and join the community of Islām? And yet the Qur'ān says, "their abode is hell". But since 19.67-73 speaks of some being delivered from hell may we not assume that these people would remain in hell only until the day of the resurrection?

Certainly in 4.99 the Qur'ān has in view the day of death whereas in 19.67-73 the deliverance envisaged is to take place on the day of the resurrection. Cf. also 39.62f. "On the day of the resurrection.....Allah will rescue those who have shown piety"; and it is clear that Gehennah is the place from which they will be delivered. And cf. also 3.182 which remarks that "on the day of the resurrection rewards will be paid in full", and then the verse adds, "Then he who is removed from the Fire and taken into the Garden will have come off well."

These passages force us to conclude that while the fate of the true believer (though 28.67 should be noted, "As for him who has repented and believed and acted uprightly, it may come to pass- fa'asā 'an yakūn, i.e., possibly he may be, it may be- that he will be among the prosperous", where the nuance of uncertainty is unmistakable) and that of the declared unbeliever is already determined (though notice 11.109 which says, concerning those who are "in the Fire" v.108, "Therein to abide as long as the heavens and the earth remain except as thy Lord pleaseth; verily thy Lord doeth what He wisheth", and 92.14f. which warns "of a fire that blazes in which shall roast ONLY the most miserable",) there are those whose fate will not be determined until the resurrection. They are apparently in hell but they will have a kinder fate meted out to them at the Judgment.

J. Schacht, in his article on Islām in The Encyclopaedia of



Social Sciences, sums up the matter in the following words, "The believer who committed grave sins does not necessarily become an infidel, and while unbelief is punished by eternal hell heinous sinners who are believers will not remain in hell for ever."

There seems to be no alternative to heaven and hell. According to 19.72f. all men go down to al-Jahīm, but the muttaqūn are rescued and pass finally to their reward in the Garden.

There is however no suggestion that these souls are undergoing any process of purification in purgatorial fires. The thought is rather that they are being punished for their misdeeds; but when the day of the resurrection dawns they will then have drunk the last dregs of their cup of bitterness and will be delivered by Allah Himself. And this reminds us of another point that requires to be emphasized: the angels are assigned no prominent role in this rescue on the resurrection day. They consign to the flames on the day of death but at the resurrection their part is altogether subordinate.

Thus far the facts that have emerged are that immediately after death the souls of men are interrogated by the angels. They are then sent to paradise or to hell (though 19.72f. says that all men go down to al-Jahīm). There it appears that they experience neither the delights of the one nor the torments of the other in full measure. That comes only after the Judgment. The destiny of the majority of souls is already foreordained, but a small number will at the last be delivered from hell and then transported to heaven by Allah. The possibility of a transference from the Garden to the Fire on the day of Judgment is nowhere suggested.

That then seems to be the general picture of the situation

obtaining in the spirit world until the day of the resurrection. For the present things are pursuing their natural course among the living on the earth where each is hammering out his destiny.

### THE RESURRECTION.

We have already noticed the unbelief and the scepticism with which men treated the announcement of the resurrection, see chp. V b 19ff., and V c 18f., so that it will suffice if we supply some references to this widespread phenomenon. <sup>1</sup> Unbelief in the resurrection is traceable perhaps to the difficulty of understanding how the physical body that has crumbled to dust could be raised to life again; but also to the rejection of the idea of judgment. And, of course, as long as the Meccans disbelieved in resurrection and judgment it is difficult to see how the sanctions that were being introduced for the code of individual conduct could be made effective; hence Muhammed's<sup>2</sup> insistence on these two doctrines.

At first the doctrine of the resurrection was based upon Allah's power to create 22.5; and evidence of this creative activity of God was seen in His power to revive the dead land 35.10ff., 7.55f. Cf. too 23.12ff. But it should be noticed that the majority of these references to Allah's creative power in nature has no relevance to the resurrection but only to His bounty and power. <sup>2</sup> However, when these "signs" of God's creative activity in nature were placed in a context of judgment and rewards and punishment etc., they become significant for the eschatology of the Qur'ân.

Concerning death the Qur'ân assigns a major role to the angels but in respect of the resurrection Allah alone exercises the pre-

1. E.g. 6.29f., 11.10f., 16.40ff., 19.67ff., 22.5ff., 32.9, 34.7f. 45.23-45.
2. 2.159, 16.67, 25.51, 32.27, 36.33, 43.10, 45.4.

rogative. It is true that Allah "causes to die" 2.260, 45.25, but that is effected through the agency of angels; but it is Allah Himself who "raises up" men from the dead. With only two exceptions the raising of the dead is accomplished by God without the intervention of secondary agencies 2.26, 6.12,36, 22.6, etc. In 30.49 God is called "the Quickener" (muḥī) of the dead. The two exceptions referred to concern the raising of the dead by Jesus son of Mary 3.43, 5.110, but the Qur'ān is careful to add that this was done "by the permission of Allah." This power to raise the dead on the part of Allah is often referred to in the Qur'ān in connection with the regular recurrence of the quickening of the earth after its 'death' 30.49 during winter, but to effect this resurrection in nature Allah uses such agencies as winds, clouds and rain 35.10. curious feature of the resurrection that the Qur'ān

It is clear that the Qur'ān taught believers to expect a physical resurrection. It was the actual remains of the body buried in the tomb that were to be revived and raised up. Adam is told that he will be "brought forth from" the earth 7.24, cf. also 84.4, 99.2. 22.7 says that it is "those who are in the tombs" whom Allah will raise up; cf. too 54.7, while 82.4 remarks that "the graves will be turned upside down (bu'thirat)". Cf. also 100.9. In both references Dr Bell renders bu'thirat by "ransacked". trace of a similar impression in the minds of be-

It was, of course, this idea of physical resurrection that roused the scepticism of unbelievers. In 17.52 they ask with ill-conceived incredulity, "When we have become bones and fragments shall we then be raised up a new creature?" To the question, "Who is to restore us?" the Qur'ān replies, "He who originated you the first time." Cf. also 17.100f. 2.261 speaks of the bones being



made to stand up and being clothed with flesh.

And not only must man not think that Allah "shall not (re) assemble his bones", He will even "(re)form his very fingers" 75.3f. And the person who is to be resurrected will be identical with the personality who has been alive on the earth. In 6.94 Allah says to those who have been raised up, "Now you have come to Us singly as we created you the first time...." Again, the Qur'ān remarks, "Your creation and your upraising are just as if it were one person" 31.27. 81.7 speaks of souls being "paired", i.e., with their bodies. And that physical bodies are implied is further suggested in 79.8, "Hearts on that day (day of the resurrection) will bethrobbing." Notice also the many references to the "face" in eschatological passages.

There is one curious feature of the resurrection that the Qur'ān emphasizes; it seems to have relevance only to unbelievers. When the latter are raised up they will confess that they have remained in their graves only a very short time. In 17.54 the indefinite "a little while" (galīl) is used. Some will think they have tarried "ten days" 20.103, others "a day" 20.104. Some will think that they have not been in their graves "more than an evening or its morning" 79.46, while others will swear that they have not been dead "more than an hour" 30.55.

There is no trace of a similar impression in the minds of believers when they are raised up. But when one considers the conditions in which they have been 'existing' in the intermediate state this is what one would expect. They will not be so conscious of the immediacy of the resurrection day because they will have already been tasting the delights of paradise and will therefore not be so urgent to see the ushering in of the Last Day. The

VIII 14.

unbelievers on the other hand are being raised in order to be condemned to the tortures of al-Jahim which are infinitely worse than those they will have been experiencing during the intermediate state.

As for the living, the resurrection day will fill them with terror; terror that will cause the woman who gives suck to forget her child, the pregnant woman to abort, and people in general to reel to and fro as if they were intoxicated 22.2. Men will stand looking round stunned 39.68, and will ask, "Where is a place to flee to?" 75.10. In the ensuing panic "a man shall flee from his brother, and his mother, and his father, and his wife and his sons; each man on that day will have business to occupy him" 80.34ff.

Animals too will be terror stricken. E.g., she-camels that have reached the tenth month of pregnancy will find themselves unattended; the very time, as Dr Bell points out, when they require special attention. And the wild beasts will be driven together 81.4f. But in the references to people and their terrors on the resurrection the Qur'ān is concerned only with unbelievers. How believers will act who are still alive on the earth when the Hour overtakes them the Qur'ān does not say.

But when one considers the cataclysmal nature of the judgment day it is natural that fear should grip those still alive on the earth when comes "the crack of doom." In the first place, it will be ushered in with unparalleled suddenness. "It is only like a flash of the eye, or nearer still" 16.79. The first sign that the resurrection day has come will be the single blast 69.13, blown upon the trumpet 23.103, 78.18, 50.19, etc.

That will be followed by cataclysms on the earth and in the heavens. The heavens, e.g., will shake 52.9, and be rent open 82.1,

78.19, and broken up with clouds 52.27. They will become like molten metal 70.8, and be rolled up in the hollow of Allah's right hand 39.67. The celestial bodies will also be affected. The stars will be blotted out 77.8, or become murky 81.2, and then be scattered 82.2. The moon will sink away 75.8, and the sun be veiled 81.1, and both be brought together 75.9.

On earth the mountains will begin to move 18.45, and become like wool 70.8, or a mirage 78.20, or like passing clouds 27.90. They will be pounded to powder and be levelled to a plain 20.105, and become scattered dust 56.6. Then the earth itself will be shaken 56.4 when Allah takes it up in the hollow of His hand 39.67. So violent will be the motions of the earth that it will seem as if it were stepping forward 18.45. Naturally this will cause the seas to boil up 81.6, 82.3. Such catastrophic cosmic events will cause men's hearts to fail them for fear when the resurrection day dawns.

### THE JUDGMENT.

The object of the resurrection day is to muster the dead (and the living) before the Lord for judgment. It appears that from the beginning Muhammed<sup>1</sup> felt called to "warn" or to "remind" his contemporaries of a coming judgment, so that the conception of judgment would be present with Muhammed<sup>1</sup> almost from the start. And that he was able to operate with the idea of judgment from the beginning suggests that those whom he warned were already conversant with the ideas of the unity of God and of appearing before Him for judgment on the Last Day. This belief in the Last Day is significant for the judgment because it involved the conviction that life was meaningful only from the point of view of the quality of the conduct of the individual.



That the Judgment will take place on the resurrection day is a point on which the Qur'ān speaks with great consistency 16.27, 5.40, 18.105, 4.140, etc. On that day men will be marshalled in ranks 18.46, and be urged forward 27.85, 41.18. They will engage in altercation with each other 34.30, but in lowered voices, so that one will hear nothing but a murmur 20.107.

E.g., the associate-gods will altercate with those who worshipped them. The former will either deny that the latter worshipped them, or assert that they were neglectful of the adoration that was offered to them 10.29. The Mushrikun on the other hand will say of those whom they used to associate with Allah, "O our Lord, these are our associate-gods upon whom we used to call"; but the latter retort, "Ye speak falsely" 16.88.

Again, the proud and "the weak" will wrangle together. In reply to the charge brought against them by "the weak", "had it not been for you we would have believed", "those big with pride" will retort, "Was it we who turned you away from the guidance.....? Nay ye were sinners" 34.30ff. Again, unbelievers will argue concerning what or who it was who led them astray. They will say, "O our Lord, show us those of jinn and men who have led us astray" 41.29. But the Lord will break in upon all these altercations saying, "Wrangle not in My presence" 50.27.

Although men will come in crowds to the Judgment 78.18, surging against each other 18.99, hustling and bustling 79.2ff., yet they will come forward one by one 99.6, with throbbing hearts 79.8, and downcast with disgrace, looking with stealthy glances 42.44, and in great alarm because of the Book 18.47. In spite of the vastness of the assembled multitude there will be no possibility of anyone escaping detection 18.45.

While the Judgment is in progress angels, giving glory to the Lord, will circle about the Throne 39.75. On the Judgment Day the angels will "summon men to judgment" 54.6ff., witness against unbelievers, deny the charge that "people used to serve them", and make the counter charge that they (the people) in reality "used to serve jinn" 34.39f. Doubtless when the Qur'ān speaks of each person being accompanied by "a driver and a witness" on the judgment day 50.20ff., it means angels.

The apostles will also be present at the Judgment in order to be questioned about their witness. Those to whom they were sent will also be interrogated 7.5. It is probable too that the "witness from each community" whom Allah raises up means each apostle who will witness against the unbelievers on the Judgment Day. Permission to speak at the Judgment will not be granted to unbelievers 16.86. 11.21 speaks of "the witnesses" who will witness that "the inventors of falsehood" who will be mustered for judgment were in fact those "who lied about their Lord." It is probable that the various prophets and apostles are "the witnesses" to whom the Qur'ān refers in this verse.

This Day of Judgment is the great climax towards which all history is moving, and in the Qur'ān it is variously described as as-sā'ah (the Hour) 6.31, <sup>al-</sup>yawm al-ākhir (the Last Day) 9.44f., yawm al-qiyāmah (the Day of the Resurrection) 60.3, yawm ad-dīn (the Day of Judgment) 83.10f., yawm al-jam' (the Day of the Gathering) 64.9, and yawm at-talāqī (the Day of the Meeting, i.e. with God) 40.15.

The Qur'ān also calls the Judgment Day the yawm al-faṣl 37.20f., 44.40, 77.13,38, the Day of Distinction, i.e. the day of separation of good from bad. Faṣl means a separation or division between two .

or more things. E.g., it is used of the four divisions (seasons) into which the year is divided; or of the divisions (chapters) into which a book is divided. The expression yāwm al-faṣl as a description of the Judgment Day is particularly apposite because faṣl may indicate the distinction between the false and the true. The Qur'ān itself judges or discriminates between truth and error 86.13.

Now the yāwm ad-dīn is a yāwm al-faṣl because on that day moral distinctions will be made. On the yāwm al-faṣl believers will be distinguished from unbelievers. A distinction will be drawn between true and false believers, true and false religions, and between falsehood and truth 32.25. And the discrimination will be so clear that those who have followed error in this life will recognise that they have been pursuing falsehood, and will ask permission to return to earth to follow the true religion and become Muslims.

It is these considerations that make significant for judgment the Qur'ān's insistence that of those who appear for judgment both believers and unbelievers will stand together. In 17.73 we read, ".....the Day when We shall call all men", while in 27.89 the Qur'ān says, "All shall come to Him abjectly." But when all men are congregated about the Throne of Judgment they will be divided into two classes.

These groups are variously described as the pious and the sinners 19.88f., the miserable and the happy 11.107, those whose faces have become black and those whose faces have become white 3.102f., those who have come with a good deed and those who have come with an evil deed 27.91f., 99.7f., the believers and the unbelievers 30.14f., those on the right hand and those on the left 56.8f., 90.18f., and



those with the book in their right hand or in their left 69.19,25.

But although believers stand with unbelievers at the Tribunal of God they will not be judged in the accepted sense of the term. 28.61 asks, "Is then he to whom We have made a goodly promise..... like him to whom We have given temporary enjoyment.....and who then on the day of the resurrection will be of those brought forward?" (presumably for judgment). The inference is that unlike him the former will not be brought forward for judgment although he too at the moment is standing before the Judgment Seat.

The Qur'ān is convinced that on the resurrection day it will be the deeds done "in this present life" that will be judged. In its doctrine of judgment the Qur'ān is everywhere concerned to emphasize personal guilt and individual responsibility. In spite of strong tribal loyalties that still operated in the Arabia of Muhammed's day individualism was steadily gaining ground so that there is little if any trace of collective guilt such as that to which the Old Testament bears witness.

Clearly the subjective responsibility of the individual had become established as decisive in the attribution of guilt, as also had the recognition of the individual life as independent and valuable. Guilt had long since ceased to be an objective fate. It had become a matter of personal and conscious responsibility. Naturally this was significant not only for the calculation of guilt but also for the establishment of punishment. Man in the Qur'ān is alone responsible for the deeds which he has done.

It is interesting to notice that the determining principle in the gospels concerning judgment is also works, Matt 25. Its moral principles provide the ultimate test that a man's confession of sonship with God has been genuine; and the vital test of sonship

is brotherliness. Those who are condemned in the gospels are the rich man who daily swept past his brother Lazerus crouching at the gate Lk 16.19f., and the indifferent who failed to recognise Christ in the disguise of the prisoner, the stranger, the sick and the destitute Matt 25.31f. I.e., the criterion by which men are judged in the gospels is not whether a person believes or disbelieves but what he does. The <sup>ground</sup> of judgment is not intellectual but moral. Now this is the point of view of the Qur'ān although īmān is also of fundamental importance.

īmān was fundamental because the acceptance or rejection of the Message preached by Muḥammed was conceived to be a moral act, an act which determined whether a man was to lead a morally upright life or not. 4.122 reads, "It is not by your dogmas, or the dogmas of the People of the Book. Whoever does evil will be requited for it...." Quite clearly the judgment in the Qur'ān is placed fairly and squarely on moral grounds.

This however is true only to a limited extent because the Qur'ān draws a distinction between the good deeds that evil men do and those done by believers. In this connection it is well to recall what was pointed out in chp. V c 13f., that the good deeds of evil men are invalidated by kufr.

3.28 may be accepted as a general statement of the attitude of the Qur'ān towards the judgment of men, "Each one will find presented the good he has done and the evil he has done", and that applies both to the mū'minūn and the kāfirūn. Again, "each soul is laid in pledge for what he has been piling up (kasabat, i.e. he is to be held morally responsible for his acts), and for him....neither patron nor intercessor, and from him no equivalent which he offers will be accepted" 6.69.

If these words apply both to kāfirūn and mū'minūn then the latter will not have an advantage over the former. Evil deeds and righteous deeds will receive the reward they merit 28.84, 27.91f. However, unlike the believer the unbeliever has need of patron and intercessor, and he hopes that Allah will accept a ransom on his behalf, but in this he will be bitterly disappointed. 4.122f. says that "he who does evil deeds will be requited; and whosoever does works of righteousness.....will enter the Garden", but concerning the latter the Qur'ān is careful to add, "and is a believer".

The presence of īmān seems to invalidate evil works, while its absence renders good works null and void. It is therefore only with reservation that one can answer "yes", in reply to the question, "Are you being recompensed for anything but what ye have been doing?" 27.92. Obviously the good works wrought by the unbeliever will be 'lost'. Indeed 18.103 asks, "Shall We announce to you who it is who must lose their works?" The answer is in v.105, "Those who have disbelieved in the signs of their Lord, and in the Meeting with Him." The people concerned "think they are doing well" 18.104, but by virtue of kufr "their works have become fruitless" and Allah will attache to them "no weight on the resurrection day" 18.105.

In 11.19 the Qur'ān says of unbelievers, "In the Hereafter.... what they have done will have become fruitless (ḥabīt), and what they have been working vain (batīl).". Such language can be predicated of good works since by the very nature of things evil works would be inherently "fruitless" and "vain".

Indeed the Qur'ān suggests that Allah will Himself have to do something to get rid of the good works performed by unbelievers. In 25.25 we read, "We shall set upon (qadimnā, advance boldly



against) the works which they have done, and make it dust scattered abroad." It may be apposite here to remind ourselves that among believers there are those whose destiny is in doubt. 28.67, speaking of "him who has repented and believed and acted uprightly", remarks, "possibly he may be among the prosperous"; while 19.67-73, 39.61ff., speak of Allah rescuing certain people from hell. This suggests that īmān per se is not a sufficient passport to "the Garden". Where it is not supported by "works of righteousness", or where it is weak, doubt concerning the destiny of the soul may well be entertained, though the Qur'ān would seem to support the view that finally every believer will enter the Garden.

But where īmān is entirely absent there seems to be no hope of salvation. If an unbeliever has lived a morally upright life Allah will Himself deliberately eliminate the good works that such a life involves 25.25. The statement therefore in 7.7 concerning the weighing of men's deeds on the Judgment Day requires qualification. The statement reads, "The weighing (Dr Bell translates wazn by 'standard') on that day will be truth (al-haqq).". The act of weighing is, in fact, a pious fraud since the outcome is already a foregone conclusion, at least when considered in terms of eternal destiny. If it could be established that there were degrees or different lengths of punishment in hell there would be a greater sense of reality in the Judgment.

This serves to introduce the next point to be considered. What norm will operate in the judgment that will be dispensed on the resurrection day? What criteria will be used in deciding one's destiny? A superficial reading of the Qur'ān suggests that the criterion will be the record of a man's deeds with which he will be presented on the Judgment Day. But this is not true. The real

norm of judgment will be the book containing the revelation that each community was given, and their attitude to it.

In a passage that deals with the Apostle's discharge of his divinely appointed duty, and that of the other messengers the remark is made, "Allah hath sufficed as a keeper of account"; suggesting that His messengers have been faithful in the performance of their tasks. If therefore men are unbelievers the blame rests on their own shoulders not on those of the apostles 33.38f. So that when "each community is called to its Book" that Book will be the criterion of judgment, as is suggested by the words that immediately follow, "To-day ye will be recompensed for what you have been doing" 45.27. The two statements must be taken in conjunction with each other in the closest possible way.

The Qur'ān again refers to this Book in 39.69. After it is said that "the Book will be set", the verse continues, "and the prophets and the witnesses will be brought and the judgment will be given....." Doubtless the prophets are present in order to witness (as the Book itself witnesses) that they discharged faithfully the duties of the prophetic office among their peoples so that the latter are without excuse.

In 2.137 we read, "Thus have we made you an intermediary community that ye may be witnesses to mankind, and that the Apostle may be a witness in regard to you." This probably implies that the Qur'ān anticipated that in the resurrection communities will deny that the prophets had preached to them. In the event of that happening the prophets will be asked to supply proof that the assertion of the communities is false.

But Allan Himself will ask the peoples, "What answer did ye give to the messengers?" 28.65. If they refused the Message they will

witness against themselves and stand before the Judge self-  
<sup>un</sup>confessed believers. 7.50f. reads, "We have brought them a Book  
 .....Do they expect anything but the interpretation of it?" When  
 "the interpretation" is given the negligent will say, "The  
 messengers of our Lord came with the truth; have we then any in-  
 tercessors.....or may we be sent back to do otherwise than we have  
 been doing?" The Qur'ān's comment is, "They have lost them-  
 selves....." 7.50f.

The Qur'anic assertion, "Allah will judge by the truth" 40.21  
 is therefore accurate. And notice the confession of the un-  
 believers in 7.51, "The messengers of our Lord came with the truth."  
 It is then this book containing the revelation granted to each com-  
 munity which is apparently the main criterion by which men will be  
 judged and their destinies settled. This means, of course, that  
 since believers and unbelievers will be together at the Judgment  
 the same norm of judgment will apply to each. The Judgment  
 therefore will be equitable. The believer will have no advantage  
 over the unbeliever because his deeds will not be considered until  
 he has been judged by the common criterion, and the record of the  
 unbeliever's deeds will not be examined before he submits himself  
 to the principal test, "What answer did you give to the Messengers  
 of Allah?"

In addition each person on the Judgment Day will be presented  
 with a book containing a scrupulously accurate account of every  
 deed he has ever committed, good or evil, during his lifetime.  
 And here we are in the mercantile atmosphere of Mecca in which so  
 much of the imagery of the Qur'ān is steeped. The idea of keep-  
 ing accounts in writing, of a day of reckoning when the account  
 books will be opened, and when each one's debit and credit



accounts will be closed and rendered, and a final statement be given reflects faithfully the atmosphere of commercial life in Mecca, as does also the act of giving to each his kitāb or his account in his right hand or his left according to whether it shows a credit or a debit balance 17.73, 69.19,25, 84.3,10.

This book is described as the "book which speaks the truth" concerning every man 45.28, and the "book that preserves a record" 50.4. In it is "everything" that a man has done. "Every little and every great (deed) is inscribed" in it 54.52f. Although "men may have forgotten" what they have done "Allah hath account of it" 58.7. As 78.29 says, "Everything have We counted up in a book." Every conception, every birth, every long life, and every life that has been cut short, is in a book 35.12. No detail is omitted. "Not the weight of an atom in the heavens or in the earth escapes" Allah 10.62,34.3. Even what a man "leaves behind" after death is "counted up in a clear book" 36.11.

This oversight of the whole of humanity has been delegated by Allah to the angels. It is they who enter into the ledger the account of men's actions 82.10ff. E.g., 50.20ff. describes each soul coming to the Judgment "accompanied by a driver and a witness", and one of them announces, "This is what I have ready", meaning the record of the person's deeds. Notice too 82.10ff. which says, "Over you are guardians....writing....what ye do."

43.35, speaking of the man who rejects the Message of Allah, says, "We shall assign a satan, and he shall be his mate." And cf. also 19.86 which says, "We have sent the satans upon the unbelievers to egg them on." These references suggest that one of the two spirit beings who accompany the soul is a shaytān. However that may be it is this record preserved by the angel that is placed in a man's right hand or his left. "The pages shall

be spread open" 81.10, and each will hear the command, "Read thy book", and in the reading of it each will be "a sufficient accountant" against himself 17.15.

It is interesting to recall that this idea of keeping an account of the deeds of men in books was common in Judaism. Cf. Dan 7.9f. It is referred to in the Book of Enoch, see, e.g., 81.4. In 89.71 the books are sealed, but they will be opened on the resurrection day 90.20. The Qur'ān remarks that a man's account of his deeds will be read by himself 17.15, or by the angels 69.19. In 17.15 the computation of sins is also mentioned, which suggests that the mercantile life of Mecca was the source from which {Muḥammed<sup>3</sup>} drew these particular ideas.

The Qur'ān also uses the simile of balances to distinguish between those whose works are vain and those whose works find acceptance with God. This idea, which is part of the eschatology of the Qur'ān, occurs in several passages of which the following are the more important 21.48, 101.5, 18.105, 7.7.

It is striking that in none but the first of these references is it said that man's acts or scrolls will be weighed on the day of the resurrection. At-Tabarī assumes that the people themselves will be weighed in the balances though the idea that it will be the books in which the deeds have been recorded that will be ~~weighed~~ weighed is more prevalent. Baydāwī understands it in this sense in his commentary on 7.7.

Where the evil outweigh the good condemnation is inevitable 23.105, 101.6. "The standard" (lit. "the weighing", wazn) by which men's deeds will be judged will be "the truth" 7.7f. Allah Himself will supervise the weighing. He will "set up just balances" and will see to it that "no soul shall be wronged at all",

not even "a work of the weight of a grain of mustard seed" will be overlooked 21.48.

### THE FATE OF THE DĀLLŪN.

It is at this point in the discussion that one is obliged to recognise the line of demarcation that separates the believer from the unbeliever, the Dāllūn from the Muhtadūn, in Qur'anic eschatology. It is at this juncture that their ways diverge never to meet again.

The difference between the two classes manifests itself at the Judgment even in the very looks on their faces. The different reactions in each group are referred to in surah 69. The upsurging of joy and relief in the heart of the man whose book is in his right hand finds expression in these words, "Here! take and ready my book. Verily, I thought that I should meet my account" vv.19f. How different the emotions that invade the mind of the person "who is given his book in his left hand."

He will say, "O would that I had not been given my book! And that I had never known my reckoning! O that death had been the end of me!" vv.25ff. And the looks on the faces will correspond to the feelings in the hearts of each group. Some faces will be "beaming" 3.102, "laughing and joyous" 80.39; others will "become black" 3.102, "scowling" 75.24, "downcast" 70.44, "covered with humiliation" 68.43 and "gloom" 80.40f.

After the doom has been pronounced the damned will wish naturally to speak in self-defence, or say something that will gain for them an amelioration of their fate. But "on that day....no one will speak except by His (Allah's) permission" 11.107. "No permission (to speak) is given" to those who have disbelieved 16.86; "nor will Allah speak" to those who concealed what He sent down of the Book



2.169. Again, we read that "about his fault will be asked that day neither man nor jinn" 55.39.

Some will be asked, "Have you counted My signs false?" but when "the sentence falls upon them....they utter not (a word)" 27.86f. Of those to whom permission to speak is granted some will appeal for intercessors, though 4.109 discourages hope in the efficacy of intercession with Allah at the Judgment. "Who will dispute with Allah in their (the unbelievers') defence on the day of the resurrection, or who will undertake their case?" In 7.51 however, some ask, "Have we then any intercessors to intercede for us?" But men are not encouraged to hope for help from this quarter. 82.19 says, "One shall have no influence on behalf of another at all, and the affair will then be in Allah's hands."

But the door is not completely closed. In 20.108 we read, "Intercession will not avail except (that of) him to whom the Merciful will give permission"; while 19.90 assures us that "they shall have no power of intercession except those who have taken a covenant with the Merciful." This yields a hint that some will be granted permission to intercede with Allah on behalf of the condemned, and it is the intercession of those who "take a covenant with Allah" that will be especially efficacious; but what form these intercessions will take, or upon what grounds the pleas will be made, or for whom they will be presented, no intimation is made.

As has been said already the Qur'ān is on the whole unfavourable to the idea of intercession. See e.g. 2.45, "And protect yourselves against a day in which no person will give satisfaction instead of another, nor will intercession be accepted from him, nor any equivalent be taken, nor will they be helped." It is interest-

ing to notice that angels will exercise the right to intercede 40.7, 43.3, 21.26.

Perhaps the disfavour with which the Qur'an treated this idea of intercession is due to the fact that it was so closely connected with the heathen deities, e.g. 10.19. This negative attitude to intercession is expressed again in 39.45 where we read that "intercession belongs to Allah entirely...." The Qur'an never refers explicitly to intercession by Muhammed though Islamic theologians have found allusions to it in 17.81, "Peradventure thy Lord will raise thee to an honourable station"; and again in 93.2, "And thy Lord shall give thee wherewith thou shalt be well pleased." Naturally Muhammed's intercession is given great prominence in Tradition and later theology.

Among those who will be permitted to intercede on the Judgment Day will be "those who have taken a covenant with Allah." Now it is not easy to decide who is meant here, but there are one or two hints that might enable us at least to hazard a guess concerning their identity. E.g., 7.131 reads, "O Moses, call upon thy Lord for us by the covenant He made with thee." Cf. also 43.48. Again, 2.119 speaks of Allah "making a covenant with Abraham and Ishmael", a verse which occurs in a passage that refers to prayer, and the founding of the Ka'bah as a place of prayer. The prayer of Abraham that follows this verse certainly contains a number of intercessions vv.120ff.

33.23 may also be significant. "Among believers were men who were sincere in the covenant they made with Allah; some of them have fulfilled their vow (by laying down their lives on the field of battle), others still look forward (to doing so); they have not changed in the least." If one dare use such slender material as

as a basis for an opinion one might suggest that the phrase "those who take a covenant with Allah" refers to the prophets and to the martyrs who died in the cause of Islām, and who, by virtue of that covenant, may exercise the right to intercede.

Now when one reflects upon the service that these personalities rendered to the cause of Allah it would be natural to suppose that they would have the power to intercede with Allah, and that the grounds upon which they would make their intercessions would be first, the mercy of ar-Rahmān, and second, what they had suffered either in persecution or in death for the cause of God. If any could hope to intercede successfully with ar-Rahmān on behalf of the doomed it would surely be those to whom the verses cited refer.

It is significant that in 19.90, 20.108 the name used of God in connection with intercession is ar-Rahmān, one of the two names by which the faithful were taught to call upon God in prayer 17.110. The fact that these intercessions will be addressed to "the Merciful" suggests that the grounds upon which they will be made will be the mercy and grace of God, and in the nature of the case that would be the only possible grounds upon which to base them.

The Mushrikūn will be among those for whom no intercessors will be found. They "will offer to make peace" with Allah at death 16.30, while "those who have done wrong" will endeavour to excuse themselves, but "on that Day their excusing themselves (ma'dhiratuhum) will not profit them" 30.57.

Others will plead for a second chance saying, "Could we return to earth we would do otherwise than we did" 7.51. They will admit, "O Lord we have seen and we have heard; send us back and we will do right" 32.12, 42.43. But all such appeals will be vain. Un-



believers on the Judgment Day will plead with the believers saying, "Wait for us that we may kindle at your light", but they will be told, "Turn back again and seek light" 57.13. The Qur'ān goes on to explain that there is "a wall with a door in it" between the unbeliever and the believer, inside of which there is "mercy", and outside of which there is a "punishment". Dr Bell points out that this passage reminds one of the parable of the Ten Virgins in Matt 25.1-13.

All such appeals will be ineffective on the Judgment Day. In a graphic passage 70.11-14 the Qur'ān describes how unbelievers "will gaze at each other, the sinner wishing that he might ransom himself from the punishment.....by his sons, and his companion, and his brother, and his kin who shelter him.....that it might deliver him"; but even "if they had all that is in the earth together, and as much again, with which to ransom themselves from the punishment of the day of the resurrection, it would not be accepted from them" 5.40, 13.18, 57.14, 60.3.

How we are to understand these references to the unbeliever's expectation to be able to ransom himself by his sons and other relatives, or by his wealth, is not clear. If the relatives mentioned are believers we might assume that the unbeliever hopes that his believing relatives will either intercede for ~~them~~ (though that accords ill with the idea of ransom), or that his believing relatives will have such a surfeit of good works as to enable them to place some to his account and so ransom him.

Concerning the hope of a ransom through material wealth, perhaps the unbeliever trusts that his works of charity which his affluence made possible will be placed to his own slender account, and be accepted in lieu of faith and submission to Allah, and so ransom

himself from the Fire. But such expectations will prove vain. Unbelievers will have to "bear the burden of their sins entirely on the resurrection day" and "an ill burden" it will be 16.27, 29.12, from which there will be no escape. And after sentence has been passed "those who have ~~mis~~believed will be driven to hell in troops", and to them "its keepers" will say, "Enter the gates of hell to abide therein" 39.71f.

All these considerations demonstrate the truth of Professor H.A.R.Gibb's assertion, ".....it (Islām) is distinguished from Christianity, not so much (in spite of all outward appearances) by its repudiation of the trinitarian concept of the Unity of God, as by its rejection of the soteriology of the Christian doctrine...." Mohammedanism p.69. The difference is not one of degree but of kind. There is no possible point of contact between the soteriology that can repeat with the Christian poet, "Nothing in my hands I bring.....," and the Qur'anic conviction that the fuller one's hands are with meritorious deeds the more certain will be one's acceptance with Allah.

It appears from the Qur'ān that the condemned are ushered away immediately from the scene of judgment and driven into hell. The word jahīm is derived from the Hebrew gēhinom, i.e. the valley of Hinnom Joshua 15.8, which was situated near Jerusalem. It was there that sacrifices were offered to Moloch in days of apostasy and unfaithfulness in Israel.

It is obvious that the Qur'ān envisaged a material hell of real fire and flames, in which the torments of the damned would be of the same nature as physical sufferings experienced on earth, only intensified to the nth degree. The inmates of this inferno will have physical bodies, approximating in all essentials to those

known in this present existence. The bodies will be of such a nature that it will be possible to brand them 9.35, and fetter them 13.6, 14.50. The skins will be affected by the fire 22.21, and solid foods 37.64, 44.44, 56.52, and liquids 6.69, 14.19f., 37.65, will be consumed. So that a hell of literal fire, inhabited by beings who have physical bodies, is confidently expected.

In this connection it is interesting to notice that there is no death in hell. 14.20 speaks of "death coming upon" the inmates of hell "from every place", and yet they "shall not die". 35.33 says, "It shall not be decreed for them to die." The mode of existence in hell is to be described, not in terms of life or death, but rather in terms of a state of semi-unconsciousness. See 20.76, 87.13, where concerning the sinner in hell we read, "He shall not die therein, and shall not live." Dr Bell interprets this to mean "he will ever be at the point of death."

Happily there is no necessity to discuss the lurid details of the torments of the damned who are imprisoned in this fiendish chamber of horrors, but there are one or two points of a more general nature which ought to be underlined.

The Qur'ān teaches that the abode of the damned has been created by God. Allah Himself "is severe in punishment" 2.160, and "will take vengeance on sinners" 32.22. It is in order to fulfil that purpose that "the fire of Allah" 104.6 has been prepared by the Lord 18.28, 33.64. 7.178 says, "We have created for hell many of the jinn and of mankind", and this intention of God will not be completely fulfilled until the terms of 32.13 are fulfilled, "Verily I shall fill hell with jinn and men together", cf. also 11.120, 7.17, 38.85. Cf. also 50.29, "On the day when We shall say to



hell, 'Art thou full?' And it says, 'Are there any more?'

The Qur'ān also teaches that hell is eternal. In 40.42 "the Hereafter" is called "a permanent dwelling" (dār al-qarār), while 10.53 speaks of "the punishment of eternity" ('adhāb l-khuld). In 5.41 an-nār is described as "an abiding punishment" ('adhāb muqīm). But although 33.64f. declares that "Allah....hath prepared for them (unbelievers) a blaze in which to abide forever" (khālidīn fīha 'ābad), there is nevertheless a faint glimmer of hope that a reprieve may be granted to some at least. In 6.128 where we read, "The Fire is your abode therein to abide except as Allah willeth", there is certainly slight grounds that such a hope is not altogether beyond the realm of possibility.

On the other hand the Qur'ān frequently asserts that once the portals of hell have closed behind its inmates all hope of escape should be abandoned. Many appeals for deliverance will be directed to Allah by those in perdition, but such a request as, "O Lord, bring us out of it, then if we do it again we shall be wrong-doers", evokes the answer, "Slink away into it and speak not to Me" 23.109f, 35.34f.

Similar appeals will also be made to Mālik who is thought to be one of the angel guards of these nethermost regions. "O mālik, let thy Lord finish with us", but this only calls forth the laconic reply, "Ye are to remain" 43.77. In desperation some will attempt to effect an escape on their own initiative but "everytime.....they wish to get out of it (hell) they will be thrust back into it" 22.22, 32.20.

There is also apparently no diminution of the torments of hell. As the Qur'ān says, "Therein to abide without the torment being lightened from off them" 3.82. Appeals addressed to the keepers

of hell for an amelioration of torment meet with ill success too, 40.52f, 43.77. The downcast appearance (mublisūn) of the damned will not evoke pity in their guards 43.75. Nor do they have any hope of escape by death. "They will not die, nor will any of its punishment be lightened from off them" 35.33. The tormented may "call for destruction", but back comes the mocking response, "Call not for one destruction, but call for destruction manifold" 25.14f. This refusal to alleviate the anguish of the tormented receives picturesque though grim expression. E.g., in 7.99 we read, "Hell their abiding-place, whenever it dies down we shall add to their burning", while in 4.59 the Qur'ān observes, "Whenever their skins are cooked....We shall substitute new skins for them, that they may feel the punishment." wronged" 10.55 are to be understood.

There are one or two indications that there will be degrees of punishment in hell. 32.21 actually speaks of "the nearer punishment" and "the greater one", while in 46.18 the Qur'ān says, "For each are grades (darajāt) according to what they have done, and in order that He may pay them in full for their works without their being wronged."

38.61 reads, "O Lord.....give a double dose of punishment in the Fire." 33.68 contains a similar prayer, "O our Lord, bring upon them double shares of the punishment, and curse them with a great curse." "The Hypocrites" and "the family of Pharaoh" are mentioned as receiving a particularly severe punishment. The first are said to be "in the lowest reaches of the Fire" 4.144, while the Lord is asked to consign the latter "to the severest punishment" 40.49.

What these severer forms of punishment involve is better left to the imagination. In the light of the descriptions of even the

mildest punishments the fate of the Hypocrites, and the eternal torments that await them "in the lowest reaches of the Fire" must beggar description.

One cannot help feeling that a spirit of vindictiveness breathes through the passages that depict the torments of the damned. The day on which such a fate is decided is well named yawm ad-dīn, the day of retaliation or reckoning. Most expressive, then, is the phrase, mālik yawm ad-dīn 1.3, "possessor of the day of requital", the day when Allah retaliates, practises reprisals upon those who when alive refused to submit themselves to Him and follow the dīn al-islām, and requites them in full. It is in this sense that the words, "Judgment will be given between them (unbelievers) with justice, they will not be wronged" 10.55 are to be understood.

#### THE FATE OF THE MUHTADUN.

On reflection it seems strange that believers should be required to submit to judgment since the Qur'ān nowhere suggests that the guided will ever be finally lost. The Qur'ān however is not blind to the fact that evil deeds are committed by believers. We have seen that the only hope of the unbeliever being freed from the guilt of sin depends upon whether his good deeds outweigh his evil deeds. The evil deeds of the believer however are dealt with by Allah Himself. He steps in and by an act of grace forgives their sins. "For them is forgiveness" (maghfirah) 34.4. And again, "Allah hath prepared forgiveness for them" 33.35. It is important to notice that these two verses are found in contexts that are eschatological in character.

The sins of the guided will be forgiven when by an act of grace Allah "expiates" (kaffar) them 3.194, 47.2, 48.5, 66.8. And again, it is worth pointing out that all but one of these verses are in



contexts that are concerned with the eschatology of the believers; suggesting that the forgiveness promised them will be given at the Judgment Seat.

Another phrase that shows how God deals with the sins of believers occurs in 6.16. Dr Bell renders the first part of the verse, "Whoso is acquitted on that day....." The verb used is yusraf, averted or turned from. That this is an act of divine grace is made clear by what follows, "Upon him He has had mercy".

This may explain why the Qur'ān asserts that the guided, in marked contrast to the erring, are free from fear on the Day of Judgment. True, his works are to be weighed in the balances 7.7, and the record of his deeds will be given to him 17.73, but this holds no terrors for him. "He comes with an easy mind on the day of the resurrection" 41.40; "fear rests not upon him, nor does he grieve" 2.106, 3.164, 10.63 in the intermediate state; first, because in life "he feared the Judgment Seat, and second, knowing that he will be forgiven by Allah, he "fears not wrong nor defrauding" 20.111.

Assured that "he will not be wronged a speck" 4.123, he knows that he will receive a full reward for his deeds. In the judgment of unbelievers the watchwords were retaliation and requital; in the judgment of believers they are acquittal and recompence. Dr Bell, in his Introduction to the Qur'ān 118f., traces this idea of recompence for good works to Syriac sources, and also the eschatological motive (e.g., fear of the Last Day, and of the Final Judgment) behind the good works. Apparently almsgiving was a marked feature of religious life in Syria. Hospitality was also a deep concern among the Syrian monks, and it is well known that all these are features that are deeply imbedded in the Qur'ān.

In dealing with the recompence of the pious the Qur'ān makes use of several terms which were

undoubtedly in common use in the commercial world of its own age. And here again Dr Bell discovers Syriac influences at work. Among the Syrians alms were conceived to wipe out sins and bring a handsome reward to the bestower of the alms, which would be distributed in the next life. Alms were "a profitable business", and brought "a bargain of righteousness."

The number of commercial terms transferred to the religious sphere is remarkable, though whether Muhammed<sup>?</sup> was borrowing the ideas, or on his own initiative adapted these business practices of Mecca to the sphere of eschatology, is not always clear.

Of course, such words as 'ajr and fadl need not necessarily have been purely commercial terms, but they were certainly common in the world of trade and financial transactions. The first of these is one of the most common words used to describe the believer's recompense and means reward or wages given for services rendered. E.g. 28.25ff. describes how Moses was hired for reward by his future father-in-law, and 65.6 speaks of hire being paid to women who suckle children; and so the reward given to believers for their good works and their "contributions" is a hire or remuneration 4.172, 5.12, 25.16, etc.

Dr Jeffery traces this root to the Accadian and suggests that it came into Arabic via Aramaic, though since it is very common in Syriac it may well be a loan word from the latter. Dr Torrey in his book The Commercial-Theological Terms in the Koran 24f., points out that 'ajr is used not only of wages and rewards that are paid in strict accord with services rendered. It also means something over and above the legitimate recompense 42.38.

This latter idea is also expressed by the term fadl. To the believer's reward will be added something from the "bounty" of

Allah. Cf. 35.27 where the Qur'ān, after remarking that Allah "will pay them (believers) their rewards (ʿujūr) in full", adds, "and give them increase of His bounty" (fadl). This was something over and above what their legitimate hire would have amounted to.

Another word used to describe the believer's reward is jazā which means to pay a debt and so give satisfaction or compensation. By its use of this root in connection with divine recompense in general the Qur'ān implies that Allah has incurred a debt with the faithful, and the recompense which the latter will receive on the day of the resurrection will represent the payment of this debt. In 9.122 the verbal form (yajazīhum) is used. This is preceded by the expression, "It is written down to their credit" (kutib lahum). And what is written down to their credit is a "contribution" (naḥaqa). In the previous verse it is "a good deed" (ʿamal ṣāliḥ) that is put to their account.

Another word used in this connection is thawāb. It is not a common word in the Qur'ān and is used always in a good sense. Dr Torrey points out that the root in Hebrew, shūbh, is used in the sense of compensation in Ps.18.21. "...according to the cleanness of my hands He has recompensed (yāshībh, Hiph'il) me." Cf. also Ps.94.23.

In several places in the Qur'ān thawāb is used to describe both the reward of this world and of the Hereafter 4.133, 3.141, 3.139. In the first verse it refers to the good that results from the judicious use of this world's goods. In the last reference it may be conceived to mean the good that accrues from a wise trading in the coin of the Hereafter, deeds of righteousness, etc. The believer's reward is paid in return for these.



It is well known also that the Qur'ān speaks of believers "making a loan" (ʿaqrāḍ) to Allah; and what it meant by this term is made plain in 2.245, 57.10, 64.14ff., 5.15, where "the loan" is thought of in terms of service to God and help accorded to the Prophet. Dr Torrey points out that this term is confined to Medinan passages. Those who make "a good loan" to Allah find that He pays back double the sum 2.246, 57.11,17, 64.17, and adds forgiveness and an entrance to paradise 5.15.

Undoubtedly these and other commercial terms found in the Qur'ān belonged to the jargon of the market places and business houses of the Mecca of Muḥammed's day. It is natural to recall in this connection that the Prophet himself once engaged in business and would therefore be familiar with the terminology of trade and finance. But it is by no means certain that Muḥammed was himself responsible for transmuting these commercial terms into words of theological significance. In his study on The Commercial-Theological Terms in the Koran p.6, Dr Torrey is inclined to the belief that this phenomenon "is less characteristic of Moḥammed than of his people. When once we regard it as a necessary growth out of the conditions of Arab life, the question of Moḥammed's own experiences as a merchant loses very much of its importance for our present purposes."

However that may be, the Qur'ān's use of the vocabulary of commerce when speaking of future rewards must forever have coloured the Muslim conception of an otherwise great ideal, and made the faithful think of it in material terms of debit and credit, profit and loss.

The reward that Allah will pay the faithful on the Judgment Day is described in terms as materialistic as the business terms

to which attention has just been drawn. We noticed that the Qur'ān believes in a literal hell, whose inmates were to be equipped with bodies similar to those that men know in this present existence, and capable of experiencing all the physical pain and discomfort known in this mortal life, only intensified to a degree that defies expression.

The same may be said of paradise (al-Jannah) in the Qur'ān. And the inhabitants of this material paradise will experience all the physical delights known in this present existence, only, of course, to the nth degree. And since those who inhabit paradise have physical bodies it will be understood that the highest joys that this material heaven can produce are almost wholly material.

These concern principally the sexual desires and the pleasures of the table. But physical bodies must have their physical needs satisfied and naturally the delights of paradise are to be equated with the sating of these sensual desires. Paradise is everywhere spoken of as "a garden" beneath which rivers flow 2.23, 4.60, 13.35, etc., etc. In one passage the Qur'ān describes it as "a place of felicity, orchards and vineyards" 78.31f.

The food that the inhabitants of al-Jannah will consume is not characterised by a wide variety of choice. Thirteen verses refer simply to "fruit", e.g., 36.57, 43.73. The only two fruits specified are "palms and pomegranates" 55.68. "Flesh" is mentioned twice 52.22, 56.21. The latter verse refers to "bird's flesh". "Morning and evening" are the times when the faithful eat 19.63.

"Drink" 38.51 (sharāb) offers more variety. The commonest

beverage is khamr, of which there are "rivers", and which "is pleasant to those who drink" 47.16. It is served in "bowls of gold, and cups" 43.71, 52.23, 56.18, 76.15ff., which are passed round by "perpetual youths" 56.17, 76.19. One of the virtues of this khamr is that those who consume it "suffer neither headache nor intoxication" 56.19, 37.46. The wine is also described as "pure wine sealed" 83.25, and "white" in colour 37.45. It may also be mixed with "camphor" 76.5, or "ginger" 76.17, or sealed with "musk" 83.26. In addition there are to be found in al-Jannah "rivers of milk" 47.16, and "rivers of honey" 47.17.

And the persons of the inhabitants of paradise will be clothed in the most luxurious silk garments 18.30, 22.23, 44.53, 76.12,21, and ornamented with jewellery 18.30, 22.23, 76.21. al-Jannah with

It appears that there will be dwellings of some description in al-Jannah. The faithful will be "settled in upper rooms of the Garden" 29.58, cf. 9.73, and upon these "upper chambers" there will be "built over them" other "upper chambers" 39.21. al-Jannah with the

But when the faithful walk abroad they will suffer no discomfort from the "sun" 76.13, because there will be "shades" (zillāl) 76.14. 4.60 also speaks of the Lord leading the believers in paradise "into sheltering shades" (zill zālil). Apparently it is in these shaded corners of al-Jannah that gaily and luxuriously furnished "couches" will stand 18.30, and upon these the faithful will have the companionship of the "houris" of paradise 78.33, 56.22, 55.56,70,72,74, etc. al-Jannah with the section vv.26-33

The Qur'ān teaches that this kind of life in these Elysian fields of Islām is unending. Those who attain to the Garden are "to abide therein for ever" 4.60,121, 25.17, 29.58. "There- in they taste not death" 44.56. And so completely satisfied



will they be with this kind of life that they will "desire no change therefrom" 18.108. Whether there are any other delights to be found in paradise apart from the few just mentioned is not clear, but the Qur'ān frequently asserts that the inmates of the Garden "shall have what they will" 16.33, 25.17, while 21.102, 43.71 indicate that it will be the ~~for~~ nafs that will have every wish gratified. *negative terms can be interpreted only as re-*

The Qur'ān also suggests that there will be degrees of rank and honour in al-Jannah. 8.4 says that for "the true believers" there are "degrees (darajāt) in the presence of their Lord." Again, in 4.97f., where a contrast is drawn between "the believers who sit still" and "those who strive with their goods and persons", it is said that the former "are not on a level" (lā yastawī) with the latter, to whom "Allah hath given preference in rank", and "ranks in relation to Himself." *joy forgiveness, peace and*

There is also a difference in honour implied in 4.71 where "those who obey Allah and the Apostle" are said to be "with the prophets and the faithful (as-sāddiqīn) and the witnesses (or martyrs) and the righteous (as-sālihin) upon whom Allah hath bestowed favour; good company are these!" There are indications <sup>that</sup> too in surah 56 there are differences of rewards among the faithful. *of boisterous outbursts of shouting or loud babble of voices*

This is brought out well in Dr Bell's Translation of the Qur'ān. His heading for the division vv.10-23 of surah 56 is, "The felicity of the faithful", while for the section vv.26-33 he uses the words, "The second class of the faithful." The Qur'ān describes the latter by the general term, "those on the right" v.26, but the former are more clearly specified. They are "those who go before, they are those brought near, a company from

former generations, and a few from the later" vv.10-14. Some may be brought nearer to God than others. In surah 56 reference is made to three different categories. There are "those brought near" v.87, "the people of the right" v.89, and "those who are astray" v.92. The first two classes are blessed, but those in the third group are sent to hell.

Such discriminative terms can be interpreted only as representing real darajāt among the believers which would have significance for the world beyond, and which would manifest themselves in differences of rewards, and degrees of honour in al-Jannah.

Concerning intellectual pursuits, or the more refined pleasures of the spirit which the faithful might be conceived to desire in paradise the Qur'ān is silent. We have noticed that the pious in the Garden enjoy forgiveness, peace and satisfaction of soul. The only other non-spiritual blessing mentioned in the Qur'ān is the absence of gossip or babble, which Dr Bell interprets as freedom from the jeering ridicule to which Muhammed and his followers were subjected in his native Mecca.

The Qur'ān takes particular notice of this freedom from all forms of boisterous outbursts of shouting or loud babble of voices in concert. "Vain babble" (laghū) will not be heard 19.63, 52.23, 78.35, 88.11. In addition all the inhabitants of the Garden are to live in perfect amity and brotherhood. "Good will from Allah" (ridwān min Allah) is to prevail among them 3.13. And probably it is this ridwān from Allah that is going to counter-act or hold in check the rancour and ill-will that are so natural to the human heart. Indeed the Qur'ān, speaking of "the inmates

of the Garden" says, "We shall extract all rancour from their breasts" (naza' nā mā fī sudūrihim min ghill) 7.41.

As a consequence there will be no tā' thīm, sin (Dr Bell renders it "recrimination") 52.23, or kidhdhāb, falsehood (Dr Bell translates it "accusation of falsehood") 78.35. Probably Dr Bell's renderings have been influenced by the fact that both tā' thīm and kidhdhāb are immediately preceded by laghū.

These references to the amicableness prevailing among the faithful in paradise recall to mind three verses that refer to the reunion of believing relatives in the Garden. "Those who have been killed in the way of Allah" are said to be "rejoicing at (tidings of) those who, left behind, have not yet joined them" 3.163f., while of believers in general the Qur'ān, speaking of their progeny "who have followed them in belief", says, "We have caused their progeny to be united," presumably in al-Jannah 52.21. V.26 of the same surah reports the united relatives saying to each other in paradise, "Lo, formerly in our household were we anxious", probably about the terrors accompanying the Day of Judgment. It is clear then that one of the joys of paradise will be the reunion of relatives who died believers.

There is one curious detail regarding paradise that must be mentioned. The Qur'ān hints that al-Jannah is in close proximity to al-Jahīm. In two passages the Qur'ān reports snatches of conversation that takes place in paradise. In 37.48ff., one of the faithful says to his companion that when he was on earth he had a "mate" who did not believe either in the Judgment or in the Resurrection.

Then very dramatically the other asks his companion, "Are you able to look down?" Whereupon, on looking down, he sees his



whilom unbelieving friend "in the midst of the hot place" and exclaims, "By Allah thou (his unbelieving friend) didst almost destroy me; had it not been for the goodness of my Lord I should have been among those who have been haled (to hell)."

Again, in 7.42ff., the Qur'ān reports "the inmates of the Garden" calling to "the inmates of the Fire" saying, doubtless in derision, "We have found what our Lord promised true; have you found what your Lord promised true?" To which they reply, "Yes". Then the latter plead with the former saying, "Cause some of the water.....to overflow unto us", but they receive the assurance that "Allah has forbidden" it to unbelievers.

Now these two passages imply that al-Jannah and al-Jahīm are in close proximity the one to the other; so near are they indeed that the inhabitants of each can see one another and converse together. There is no indication that the inmates of al-Jannah are in any measure distressed by the spectacle that meets their gaze, but notice that 21.100ff., remarks that the panting of the flames is not heard by the believers in paradise, and that "the greatest of all terrors will not grieve them."

There are one or two hints in the Qur'ān that the faithful in paradise break forth into praise and adoration before the Lord for the signal favours with which He has blessed them during their earthly pilgrimage. They praise Allah for His having guided them to al-Jannah, and acknowledge that had He not directed them thither they would never have found the way.

They praise Him too for having sent messengers to them 7.41. There rises to their lips the shout, "Glory to Thee, O Allah"; and they end their praises with the words, "The praise be to Allah, Lord of the worlds" 10.10f. When they are greeted by the

angels with the words, "Peace be upon you, ye have done well, so enter in to abide", they reply, "The praise be to Allah who hath made true to us His promise....." 39.73f.

- ANDRAE T. Mohammed: The Man and His Faith. London, 1936.
- BELL R. The Qur'ān. Edinburgh, 1937.
- Introduction to the Qur'ān. Edinburgh, 1933.
- BLACKBURN R. Le Coran. Introduction. Paris, 1947.
- RICHMOND W. Man in the Old Testament. London, 1951.
- FLURBELL O. Sorani Textus Arabicus. Leipzig, 1841.
- Concordantiae Sorani Arabicae. Leipzig, 1843.
- GIBB H.A.R. Modern Trends in Islām. Chicago, 1947.
- Mohammedanism. Oxford, 1949.
- HUGHES T.P. A Dictionary of Islām. London, 1935.
- HURGRONJE S. Verspreide Geschriften. Chp.VI. Leipzig, 1933.
- JEFFERY A. The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'ān. Baroda, 1938.
- LAURENS H. Le Berceau de l'Islām. Rome, 1914.
- Islām: Beliefs and Institutions. London, 1929.
- LANE E.W. An Arabic-English Lexicon. London, 1863-
- LEVONTIAN L. Studies in the Relationship Between Islām and Christianity. London, 1940.
- MACDONALD D.B. The Religious Attitude and Life in Islām. Chicago, 1909.
- MARGOLIOUTH D.S. The Early development of Mohammedanism. London, 1914.
- MASSE R. L'Islām Paris, 1948.

# B I B L I O G R A P H Y

- ANDRAE T. Mohammed: The Man and His Faith. London, 1936.
- BELL R. The Qur'ān. Edinburgh, 1937.
- Introduction to the Qur'ān. Edinburgh, 1953.
- BLACHERE R. Le Coran. Introduction. Paris, 1947.
- EICHRODT W. Man in the Old Testament. London, 1951.
- FLUEGEL G. Corani Textus Arabicus. Leipzig, 1841.
- Concordantiae Corani Arabicae. Leipzig, 1842.
- GIBB H.A.R. Modern Trends in Islām. Chicago, 1947.
- Mohammedanism. Oxford, 1949.
- HUGHES T.P. A Dictionary of Islam. London, 1935.
- HURGRONJE S. Verspreide Geschriften. Chp.VI. Leipzig, 1923.
- JEFFERY A. The Foreign Vocabulary of the Qur'an. Baroda, 1938.
- LAMMENS H. Le Berceau de l'Islam. Rome, 1914.
- Islam: Beliefs and Institutions. London, 1929.
- LANE E.W. An Arabic-English Lexicon. London, 1863-
- LEVONIAN L. Studies in the Relationship Between Islam and Christianity. London, 1940.
- MACDONALD D.B. The Religious Attitude and Life in Islam. Chicago, 1909.
- MARGOLIOUTH D.S. The Early development of Mohammedanism. London, 1914.
- MASSE H. L'Islam Paris, 1948.



# CONCLUDING REMARKS

- MUIR W. THE Life of Mohammed. Edinburgh, 1912.
- NICHOLSON R.A. Studies in Islamic Mysticism. Cambridge, 1921.  
Chp.2.
- NOLDEKE Th. The Arabs (Ancient). In the Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edinburgh, 1908.
- O'LEARY D.L. Arabia before Muhammed. London, 1927.
- PALMER E.H. The Koran. Oxford, 1947.
- PENRICE J. A Dictionary and Glossary of the Koran. London 1873.
- ROBINSON H.W. The Christian Doctrine of Man. pp.4-150. Edinburgh, 1911.
- SALE G. The Koran. London
- TORREY C.A. The Commercial-Theological Terms in The Koran. Leyden, 1892.
- WATT W.M. Muhammad at Mecca. Oxford, 1953.
- WENSINCK A.J. The Muslim Creed. Cambridge, 1932.
- WHERRY E.M. A Comprehensive Commentary on the Quran. London, 1896.
- STANTON H.U.W. The Teaching of the Qur'an. London, 1919.

66

N.B. In addition to the above books, the relevant articles in The Encyclopaedia of Islam, and the article entitled Islam by J. Schacht in The Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences, have also been read. Through the courtesy of Revd. Dr. W. Montgomery Watt I was able to read his book, Muhammed at Mecca, and Dr Bell's Introduction to the Qur'ān, in proof form.

man's nature is to be despised and, consequently, either frustrated or sublimated. On the CONCLUDING REMARKS can be made to contribute to the realization of the purposes of God.

(3) The Qur'ān reveals an acute awareness of the innate moral weakness of man. God designs to use man to accomplish His will but the Qur'ān recognises that God is obliged to use a defective in-

The justice of the remark with which this study opened, namely, that the anthropology of the Qur'ān could not be reduced to an orderly, systematic statement will have become increasingly obvious during the course of the discussion. But that will not have obscured the fact that the Qur'ān holds certain fundamental convictions concerning Man, and this study may be brought to a close by summarizing these very briefly.

(1) The Qur'ān conceives that the birth of every person is due to a creative act of God. Man is completely dependent upon God both for life and for all that is necessary for maintaining him in life. The circumstances in which he finds himself, and the experiences with which he meets are part of the divine discipline. The whole of man's life is instinct with the presence and activity of God. Nothing is insignificant. Behind the creation and life of every man there are purposes that stretch beyond the temporal and invade the eternal.

(2) The Qur'ān has a high conception of the nature of man. He is primarily a spiritual being, and is so constituted that he is capable of entering into relationships with God. And it is only as he realises this fellowship with God, and co-operates with Him for the fulfilment of His will in the world that he attains to life's highest ends and discovers his own greatest happiness.

This does not mean, of course, that the non-spiritual side of

man's nature is to be despised and, consequently, either frustrated or sublimated. On the contrary, even that can be made to contribute to the realisation of the purposes of God.

(3) The Qur'ān reveals an acute awareness of the innate moral weakness of man. God deigns to use man to accomplish His will but the Qur'ān recognises that God is obliged to use a defective instrument. There is a serious flaw somewhere in man, and it is this defect in the nature of man that constitutes the apparently insoluble moral dilemma at the heart of life.

The tragedy of life resides in man's innate failure to be what he knows he ought to be. The Qur'ān has no solution to offer of this acute moral problem. Of the transformation of human personality, or the regeneration of the weak human will the Qur'ān knows nothing. It betrays no awareness of the existence of a spiritual dynamic outside of man that will enable him to resolve his inner moral conflict.

(4) The Qur'ān is also convinced that since man is fundamentally moral he is necessarily free. It does not attempt to solve the irreconcilable conflict between predestination and freewill but it is quite certain that both represent spiritual realities, and that a man may choose or refuse to co-operate with God.

The man who chooses the latter course is, perforce, permitted to stumble on to moral ruin. In the process he becomes daily more blind and deaf, more hard of heart. His conscience becomes finally so seared and insensible that a point is reached where moral ruin is inevitable. But it is the Qur'ān's conviction that this man is not a victim. He is a suicide.

The man who makes a positive response to divine initiative by surrendering himself to God finds that this involves certain



obligations. He must offer specified acts of worship to God, and observe a certain code of conduct. His obedience to the divine demands may be motivated by gratitude to God, or fear of hell. But it may also originate in the conviction that God has laid these claims upon him, and that therefore the law must be kept if he would ensure a good reward at the last.

(5) For the Qur'ān man is not only a creature of time. He is also the child of eternity, and therefore much of the significance of this present life resides in the fact that it is a period of probation. Here man is being tested and tried by God in order that He may decide whether a man will spend eternity in the Garden or in the Fire.

Death for the Qur'ān is not annihilation. It is the prelude to a new existence. But in the hiatus between the end of the old and the beginning of the new comes the Judgment of God. The Qur'ān is certain that God, whose judgments operate on the plane of human history through the great crises that arise in the experience of nations and individuals, will hale all men to the Final Assizes; and the fate meted out to every man will somehow correspond to the moral quality of the life that was lived on earth.